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INTRODUCTION

When I was just out of school, in 1907, and was taking an interest at college in languages and linguistics, particularly in the languages related to Sanskrit, I was quite intrigued to read in different books and articles that Lithuanian was a language which, of all the languages of Europe, resembled Sanskrit most, and to find even a statement like this that a Lithuanian speaking his own language would be easily understood by a Sanskrit-knowing person. Later on I came to know more about the relationship and classification of languages, and the place of Lithuanian in the Indo-European family. I took my B.A. degree from the University of Calcutta with Honours in English, and at that time I got my regular initiation into English, Germanic as well as Indo-European linguistics. And for my M.A. examination I had selected the linguistic group of English, with a good amount of Old and Middle English texts as well as English and Germanic Linguistics as my special subjects. My reading in ancient Germanic literature as in Old English and Old Norse, as well as my study of Gothic, inspired me with a desire to know more about the earlier literatures in all the Indo-European languages, and from Germanic I passed on to Celtic (Old and Middle Irish, and Early Welsh), and what little

I could find of Old Slav (as in a work like the Early Russian epic, the *Slovo O Půlku Igorevě*, and the epic and lyrical fragments as in the Czech *Kralove-Dvor* and the *Zelenyehora* MSS., and in other works, besides the Serbian epic of *Kossovo*).

The myths and legends and heroic tales of all Indo-European peoples also became my passion. The Indian World, with its incomparably vast mass of legends and tales as in the Vedas and ancillary works, in the epics of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the *Purāṇas*, in the vast store-house of Buddhist tales as in the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas*, in Jaina literature, in Old Tamil, and in other forms of Indian literature in the different languages; the epic and romantic lore of Iran as in the *Avesta*, the *Shāh-nāmah* and other works; the deathless beauty of the myths and legends of Greece, beginning with Homer and the Homerica, Hesiod, the Tragic Poets and other great writers of Greece;—these were there, easily accessible in the original and in translations. The Germanic and Celtic worlds in their extent and availability in both original texts and English translations could be easily studied and appreciated and put to use. What little has survived of the heroic and romantic world of Armenia was later on laid under requisition with the help of Armenian friends and fellow-citizens in Calcutta (in my 'Armenian Hero-legends and the Epic of David of Sasun', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, Letters, Vol. I, No. 3, 1959, pp. 199–220, published in 1961). A little literature available in English and French and to a very little extent in German was laid under requisition for a knowledge of the Slav myths and hero-tales, and a slight amateurish work, rather bold, because it was attempted without a knowledge of Russian or any other Slav language, was my homage at the shrine of the Old Slav Epos ('The Word

about Igor's Folk—Slovo O Půlku Igorevě—as a Specimen of Old Slav and Indo-European Heroic Poetry', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, Letters, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 1958, pp. 1–16, published in 1959). As for the early literature of the Balts, I came to know about the Lithuanian *Dainas* nearly 50 years ago, and it was with the help of German and English translations I could read some of them. But unfortunately I could not lay my hands on any appreciable amount of material in English or French on the antiquity and literature, and on the myths and legends of the Baltic branch of the Indo-Europeans. Nevertheless, a few Lithuanian *Dainas* formed all my stock-in-trade in this line, and I was eager to read and know; and I was waiting for an opportunity to visit Lithuania and Latvia to see the people and the land with my own eyes, and be within the atmosphere of its culture.

In 1964 during my third visit to the Soviet Union (my first and second visits were in 1958 and 1960), I was enabled to do what I had been looking forward to for many years—I could come to Lithuania and Latvia for the first time. In 1964 I was invited as a delegate from India to participate in the 150th Birth Anniversary of Taras Shevchenko, the National Poet of Ukraina, which was held at Kiev in May-June 1964, and through the kindness of the Union of Soviet Writers in Moscow, and the Unions of Lithuanian and Latvian Writers in Vilnius and Riga, I was enabled to visit Lithuania and Latvia. Then two years later, in 1966, I could go to these countries once again. My two visits were all too short—a sojourn of three days only in Lithuania and of four days in Latvia during June 1964, and one of four days in Lithuania and of three days in Latvia in April 1966—barely a stay of a week in each country. But, short though these

visits were, they were fraught with immense benefit for me in my understanding and appreciation of the Baltic peoples of Lithuania and Latvia. During my visits in 1964, I formed some valuable first contacts with scholars, writers and others, and these were strengthened by correspondence and exchange of books and publications. The second visits were further helpful drawing closer my bonds of friendship with my Baltic friends. When in 1964 I was first at Vilnius and then at Riga, I was received with open arms as a long-lost brother by my Lithuanian and Latvian friends and colleagues. As a Professor from India, with the atmosphere of Sanskrit in my mind, and with a few lines and tags from the Lithuanian *dainas* which I could repeat, I had immediate access to the hearts of my friends, to their love and esteem and to their unstinted help in enabling me to study and understand, in howsoever a small way, the culture and ideology of the Baltic world. I was enabled to know much more of the literature and art as well as the spirit and aspirations of the people during the fortnight I could spend in the two countries than it was possible for me to do for years with the limited resources of reading. I came to know about the literary trends in the Baltic languages at the present day, and one of my discoveries was the personality and literary achievement as well as the universal appeal of Jānis Rainis (1865–1929), acknowledged to be the National Poet of Latvia. Mme. Mirdza Ķempe of Latvia, one of the foremost figures in the domain of poetry and other literature in the Baltic world and the Soviet Union (she has recently been made the National Poetess of Latvia), Dr. Kārlis Egle, Interpreter of Rabindranath Tagore for the Latvian people, Professor J. Rudzītis of the Latvian Institute of Language and Literature and other personalities helped me to come close

to the literary atmosphere and the mentality and spiritual quality of Rainis through a mass of translations into English, abstracts and interpretations of his writings (made specially for me and sent in MS.), besides presenting me with valuable *de luxe* editions of Rainis's dramas and other works; and all this was a Godsend for me, since so little was available in English and French. Quite a collection of Lithuanian and Latvian books—the great collections of the Lithuanian *Dainas*, historical and other ancillary works, in the Baltic languages and in German, French and English, besides books on the art of the Baltic lands, in this way has come to form an invaluable addition to my library, as gifts from friends and from institutions in Soviet Lithuania and Latvia like the Academies of Sciences in their Language, Literature, Music and Folk-art Sections. My Baltic friends were equally interested in Indian thought and art—and modern progressive development as in the writings of Rabindranath Tagore and Swami Vivekananda, of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. They were also eager to know about the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Epics of Ancient India, about Yoga and other expressions of Indian spiritual culture, and manifested a profound respect and love for Sanskrit, a love which came out in various ways.

The present Study is intended to be scientific as well as popular, and aims particularly at bringing some knowledge of the Baltic world to English-reading people in general and to Indians in particular who have some background of Indo-Aryan and Indo-European philology and culture; and also at presenting some aspects of the Aryan world in India to Baltic persons. My various preoccupations did not permit me to take up its writing before the end of the year 1966, and from after my first visit to the Baltic lands in June 1964,

I was collecting my materials, and had written a small monograph on Jānis Rainis for the occasion of the Birth Centenary of Rainis in September 1965 (to which I was invited in Riga but was prevented from going at the last moment when the aggressive war by Pakistan upon India started). In writing this paper on Rainis, which is now awaiting revision, I was materially helped by Mme. Ķempe and Professor Rudzītis.

My visits to Lithuania and Latvia and my love for the Baltic peoples were given some publicity in these countries, and Lithuanian and Latvian papers, particularly the latter, brought out appreciative notes on my views about Baltic culture. These were read with interest also by some Baltic persons living outside of the Soviet Union, particularly in America and in Sweden, and I received from them books and journals which formed valuable contributions to my subject of studies. I could not have personal contacts with them, but I was enabled to put to use some of their significant studies of old Baltic literature, culture and religion, which I have taken the liberty of quoting freely and extensively. Professor Dr. Haralds Biezais of Uppsala University in Sweden, with whom I have had the privilege to correspond, sent me his valuable papers in German on Baltic and Latvian religion. Dr. Marija Gimbutas, now in the Department of Anthropology in Harvard University, U.S.A., has written a very fine and a most informative book on *the Balts* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1963), and I have received considerable help from this work, as well as from her Introduction to *the Green Linden*, giving English translations of selected Lithuanian Folk-songs by Algirdas Landsbergis and Clark Mills (New York, the Voyages Press, 1964). I wish to express my grateful thanks to her, as well as to Professor Ojars Kratins, also of Harvard University, for his article in *Western Folklore*: University of California, October 1961—'An Unsung Hero: Krišjānis Barons and His Lifework on Latvian Folk Songs,' giving such an illuminating survey of the Latvian *Dainas*. Other scholars from America like Rolf Ekmanis from the University of Arizona have helped me with papers and booklets, and with much information through letters; and my sincere thanks go to them.

To make the matter interesting, I have ventured to give some illustrations relating to the culture and religion of the Balts, particularly of some figures and paintings by modern artists of the two countries not easily available even in Lithuania and Latvia. These are published for the first time in India, through this book, and in all probability these were not taken note of outside the Baltic lands. I am specially indebted to Dr. Antanas Poška of Vilnius and to Mme. Mirdza Ķempe of Riga for these pictures, which certainly have their novelty besides artistic quality in illustrating the Balt ideal of their national gods.

I gave a course of lectures on the Baltic People and their Culture before a gathering of scholars and literary men from all over India during the Autumn Session of the *Indian Institute of Advanced Study* at Simla in October 1966, and my presentation of the place of the Balts in the Indo-European Family created a very great interest. These lectures of mine really formed the first draft of the present Study, much elaborated and expanded later on.

I have to thank the Director of the *Institute*, Professor Dr. Niharranjan Ray, for arranging the printing and publishing of my paper as a Monograph from the *Institute*.

I am also greatly obliged to Mr. George A. Nullis, Superintendent of the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta, and

to his assistants, Sri Gangadhar Banerji and Sri Bishwanath Mitra, for their great interest in the work and their unfailing kindness, courtesy and prompt attention. The compositors, proof-readers and others also deserve unstinted praise for the high quality of their work done in a spirit of cheerful co-operation and service.

I only hope that the work as offered will serve one of its purposes, at least to some extent, namely to bring the scions of the two Branches of the Indo-European Family, the European Balts and the Indian Aryans, who had never known each other before, to come closer through knowledge and understanding, and sympathy and brotherly feeling.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

'SUDHARMĀ'
16 Hindusthan Park
Calcutta 29
'MAHĀLAYĀ' DAY
3 October 1967

I

COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE AND CULTURE OF INDIA

The Indian people together with the Indian religion and culture forms a complex, being made up of various races and cultures which met on the soil of India, and which by the process of miscegenation and mutual borrowing became welded together into one people with a sense of belonging to a single cultural unit. In India we have peoples of different races, each with its own language and its own way of thought and way of life, who came to the country at different times, mostly from beyond the north-western frontiers of the country. They found after an initial period of hostile contact that they were to live together, and they gradually became familiar with each other; and as a result a most remarkable synthesis evolved through the inter-mixture of the various racial and cultural elements.

So far we know of four main races with their special types of culture which supplied contributing elements to the people and culture of India, which have been named, in a broad way, as the Hindu people and Hindu culture. These four racial elements were the following:

(1) The Austrics, or Austro-Asiatics, who are in their primitive form represented by the Kol or Munda peoples of India as well as by the Khasis and the Nicobarese;

(2) The Mongoloid peoples speaking dialects of the Sino-Tibetan speech-family, who are found largely along the sub-Himalayan regions and also in North Bihar and North and East Bengal, and above all in Assam;

(3) The Dravidian speakers who are found in continuous *blocs* particularly in South India, and remnants of them are found in North India as well. In the plains of North India the Dravidians, together with the Austrics and to a lesser extent with the Mongoloids, have merged into one people after the Aryans came to the country—the general mass of Aryan-speaking Hindus (with Muslims) of North India; and

(4) We have the Aryans. The Aryan people are believed to be the last to have arrived on the soil of India. Aryan settlements in India are supposed to have started from round about the middle of the second millennium B.C., and Aryan expansion in North India began from after 1500 B.C., according to a sober and quite a reasonable estimate.

Thus we have these four peoples or races who have contributed to the formation of the **Hindu** or **Indian people**: **Austric, Mongoloid, Dravidian** and **Aryan**. Their names in the ancient language of the Aryans, the Sanskrit, would appear to have been respectively (1) **Nishādas** (and later on some groups came to be known as Śabaras as well as Bhillas and Kollas), (2) **Kirātas**, (3) Dāsas and Dasyus as well as Śūdras (and later on also as Dramiḍas or **Drāviḍas**), and (4) **Āryas** (the Aryans, in its restricted scientific sense).

The various elements in the ancient civilization of India which took a distinct shape from about 1000 B.C., roughly, were contributed by all of these various peoples. But the

tone and organization of this new composite culture which was developing in India some three thousand years ago were supplied by the Aryans. These Aryans came to India as a group of semi-nomad and semi-agricultural people, who had been on the trek for several hundred years, from their original homeland in the vast steppes of Eurasia to the south of the Ural Mountains, before they finally arrived in Iran and India. In their original home in the plains of Eurasia they were living as a primitive people, with a culture and a very characterized language of their own, some 5,000 years from now.

II

THE ARYANS AS A BRANCH OF THE PRIMITIVE INDO-EUROPEANS (INDO-HITTITES) IN INDIA

The Aryans formed a section of the Indo-European speaking semi-nomads who had built up their specialized culture at least 3,000 years before Christ. Owing to reasons which are not clear to us, the original Indo-European speaking tribes split up into various dialect-groups, and they left their fatherland in search of new homes, to the West, South and East. Already, before 2000 B.C., one group had spread out and had come, evidently by way of the Caucasus, to Asia Minor, and there this group became the ancient Nesian or Hittite people of about 1500 B.C. Their pathway to Asia Minor, for aught we know, might equally have been through what are now Moldavia, Wallachia and Rumania, and Bulgaria and Thracia, rather than the Caucasus Range. These Hittites had preserved some very ancient characteristics of the original language which were not retained in the other branches of the same speech-family, so much so that it has been found necessary to present the relationship between the various Indo-European languages and Hittite by means of a genealogical table like the following:

Primitive Indo-Hittite
(Proto-Indo-European ?)

(A) Hittite (Nesian) — (Now extinct)

(B) Indo-European — (1) Aryan (2) Baltic (3) Slavic (4) Thraco-Armenic (5) Illyric (Albanian) (6) Hellenic (7) Italic (8) Celtic (9) Germanic (10) Tokharic

All these languages as in the above table have many common family features, and they explain each other. Through a comparison of the sounds and inflexions, roots and words of these languages in their ancient forms, we can arrive at a reconstruction of the Primitive Indo-European and the earlier Primitive Indo-Hittite stages of their history. We can also form some idea, through the help of both Linguistic Palaeontology as well as Prehistoric Archaeology, of their original homeland as well as contiguous countries, of the nature of their material, intellectual and spiritual culture. Of the above ten branches of the Primitive Indo-Europeans, viz. the Aryan (Indo-Iranian), the Baltic, the Slavic, the Armenian, the Albanian, the Hellenic or Greek, the Italic, the Celtic, the Germanic and the Tokharic, we are in the present context concerned in the first instance with the Aryan and the Baltic.

The original Aryan culture and mentality as a modification of the Primitive Indo-European mind and culture took shape in Mesopotamia and Iran, after it had come in very intimate contact with the Assyrio-Babylonians—the Akkadians and even the Sumerians—and with the Elamitic and Urartian peoples of Mesopotamia and the Caucasian tracts. In all the departments of life and thought, the highly advanced Akkado-Sumerians—Babylonians and Assyrians—made a profound impression on the rather primitive

semi-nomad Indo-Europeans, after they had arrived in Northern Mesopotamia from the steppe lands of Russia. In their religious notions, their rituals and their way of life, we see strong Mesopotamian influence on the Aryans. The Primitive Indo-European culture and mentality thus received their first transformation in some vital matters, both in material civilization and in religious and spiritual outlook, from these comparatively advanced Mesopotamians. After the Aryans had come to India, they were further profoundly modified in their thought and religion and ways of life through their very close admixture with the peoples of pre-Aryan civilizations with their distinct languages and culture-worlds—the Dravidians, the Austrics and the Mongoloids.

Hindu civilization, which is the final development, after centuries of admixture with the pre-Aryan worlds, deviated gradually in some striking ways from the original Aryan norm. But, nevertheless, because the Aryans and their intellectual and political leaders, the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, in a way formed the leaders and organizers in the evolution of a new culture, and because there were certain great qualities in the Aryan mentality and Aryan way of life, the contribution of the Aryans in the evolution of Indian or Hindu culture had a special value and importance; and it easily obtained predominance and compelled acceptance. This Aryan culture, which was basically representative of the Primitive Indo-European world and which was thus closely connected with the mental and material cultural world of all the other ancient Indo-European peoples, is best represented in India by the world of the Vedas, which forms a sort of background for Indian or Hindu culture as a whole.

III

DIVERSE RACES AND LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLES OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

To understand properly the connexion between the Aryans of India and the Balts, it would be necessary to dive into the prehistory and early history of the original people among whom the Primitive Indo-European language took shape and who were the linguistic and cultural (if not wholly the racial) forbears of the Indo-European speaking peoples of the present day. Among the ancient races who, with their definite cultural background, were the creators or propagators of civilization in the old world of Asia, Africa and Europe from the most ancient times, whom we can definitely identify in the context of their language and race, were the following:

(1) The Sumerians of lower Mesopotamia;

(2) The Semitic peoples (the Akkadians, the Babylonians and the Assyrians) whose original homeland was in the plateau of Arabia and also the contiguous areas in what has been described as the 'Fertile Crescent';

(3) The ancient Egyptians, who as Hamites were closely connected with the Semitic peoples, but they had a very strong African or Negro leaven;

(4) The primitive 'Asianic' peoples of Asia Minor, with whom were connected the Lydians, the Lycians and other nations of ancient Asia Minor together with the pre-Hellenic people of Greece and the Islands—the people known to the ancient Greeks as the 'Pelasgians', whom at the present day we generally describe as the 'Aegeans'. (We shall have to connect with them the highly civilized pre-Aryan Dravidians of India, who in all likelihood built up the oldest civilization of India);

(5) The proto-Chinese Mongoloids who built up a great system of culture—the Chinese culture—in the valley of the Hoang-Ho or the Yellow River in Northern China; and, finally

(6) We have the Indo-Europeans (or if we push their history further behind, the Indo-Hittites).

The various ancient cultures of Asia were the creation of the above-mentioned basic peoples, and with other elements, which were not so very vital, elements which were supplied by other less important peoples, we have the various intermediate or mixed types of culture which originated in later times but were within the orbit of one or the other of these basic civilizations, which can be enumerated as the Sumerian, the Primitive Semitic (Akkadian), the Egyptian, the Asianic and the Aegean, the proto-Chinese, and the Primitive Indo-European.

The pre-Aryan city civilization of India as in the ruins of Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro and other ancient cities of Western and Northern India appears to have been one of these 'intermediate' or 'mixed' types of civilizations, rather than a basic or original one.

We need not discuss the development of these various basic and mixed types of ancient civilization. Each originated within its own racial and linguistic *niveau*, but they had all of them connexions among themselves. As a matter of fact, no nation can progress in isolation; and the sum-total of civilization, with its objects of material culture as well as its ideas, the thought-content as well as the material side of civilization, is interdependent and is always on the move.

IV

THE BACKGROUND OF THE ANCIENT INDO-EUROPEAN (OR INDO-HITTITE) LIFE AND CULTURE

The primitive cultures of Mesopotamia and Egypt and of pre-Aryan India as well as of Northern China were, to start with, riverine civilizations based on agriculture—on the cultivation of barley, wheat and rice and of some other cereals. The civilization which developed among the Primitive Indo-Europeans was not a riverine one, and, although from very early times it was at least partly based on agriculture, it appears to have been established more on animal husbandry, when an important source of food-supply was the flocks of sheep as well as herds of cattle and of goats, besides swine, and also to some extent the horse. The speakers of the Primitive Indo-European speech in their most ancient state, according to the view of W. Brandenstein (1936), developed the bases of their culture with their language in the dry steppe lands of Eurasia to the south of the Ural Mountains. Here one important aspect of their material culture was the setting up of **kurgans** or barrows—mounds of earth-like small hills over graves of their princes and notabilities. Inside the graves have been found interred their most precious material possessions in the shape of arms and

accoutrements as well as ornaments and dresses, besides their horses with full equipage, and sometimes their wives and servants, who were killed and buried in the same graves. We do not know much about the other peoples living in the surrounding tracts of the steppes, besides these *kurgan*-peoples. These others were no doubt peoples of Ural-Altaic speech—the ancestors of the present-day Altaic and Ural-speaking peoples of Asia and Europe. These Ural-Altaics were in a most primitive state of food-gatherers who lived by hunting and fishing and did not as yet build up any noteworthy culture of their own, although the sheep and the horse, as well as the two-humped camel in the case of the Altaics, also came to form important items in their economic life. In Europe—in Central and Western Europe and Southern Europe—lived the Iberian peoples, with a language and a way of life which were entirely their own, and later on they were all overwhelmed by the Indo-European speakers like the Celts and Italians, and also partly by the Phoenicians who were Semitic. We have now the Basques in the borderland between Spain and France presenting the last remnants of these Iberians, who have still kept up their language. In Africa there were the Hamitic tribes to the north of the Sahara who were related to the Egyptians in language, but in culture they were still very primitive. The rest of Africa to the south of the Sahara was inhabited by the Black Africans or Negroes—in their two main divisions of Sudanic Negroes and Bantu Negroes, and these lived their own life and did not as yet produce any great culture. South of these Negroes—Sudanese and Bantus—lived the ancestors of the Pygmies, and it seems they were also to be found further to the north. Finally, in South Africa there were

the ancestors of the Bushmen and Hottentots, whose place in the cultural domain was exceedingly low.

In Asia, apart from the Mongoloids who built up the culture of China, were the great Austric people which at one time spread, from Iran through India and Farther India, as well as Malaya, into the great Island Areas to the South-east of Asia. In their primitive life they were not in any high state of civilization. We have also to mention the Dravidians of India who, according to a strong body of opinion, were just a ramification of the Aegean people, who came to India in prehistoric times, and in all likelihood developed the Indus Valley Civilization (Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro, etc.).

This was probably the situation round about 2000 B.C. The *kurgan*-builders, who in all likelihood were the Primitive Indo-Europeans in their original homeland to the South of the Ural Mountains, were not yet in possession of any high type of material culture. But with all the elements of a primitive culture which they could muster—a culture based on a little agriculture and some stock-raising, which seems to have also been characterized by some decorative arts and crafts—they were increasing in numbers and were spreading particularly in the North and the West. They were progressing at the expense of the Ural-Altaic peoples in North Europe, and later on of the Iberians in Central and Western Europe. From the more advanced and better organized Sumerian and Semitic peoples to their south, within the Near Eastern orbit, with whom they had access through the Caucasus region and possibly also through the Balkans, they were borrowing some elements of their material and intellectual and spiritual culture. Very early, it is believed, they got their cattle—the ox and the cow—from

the Sumerian people of Babylon, and possibly also the goat from Asia Minor area. The animals which seemed to have been really native to their own area of characterization were the horse, the sheep and the swine, which formed important elements in their economic life. The horse, it is believed, was first domesticated in the steppes by the *kurgan*-building Indo-Europeans, and the horse was their first great contribution to human civilization. It is quite likely that the approach to their gods by the ritual of the fire altar, in which food and drink and other gifts were brought to their gods as burnt offerings, originated from the Semites—although the origin of this cult-ritual from the domestic hearth inside the dwellings of the *kurgan* Indo-Europeans cannot be wholly barred out. In their original primitive state, these Indo-Europeans, as said before, did not possess any high type of material civilization. As far as we can gather from the character and mental background of their linguistic descendants, we can imagine these Primitive Indo-Europeans to have been quite a well-organized people with a great imagination as well as practical sense, and they had adaptability of a rare type; and they were able to get the best out of any people they came in touch with. About the area over which they were spread in their undivided state, there can only be a little guess-work.

V

THE GREAT DIALECTAL DIVIDE AMONG THE PRIMITIVE INDO-EUROPEANS

Anthropologists and archaeologists have sought to indicate the movements of the Indo-European peoples. It would appear that quite early, when the Primitive Indo-Europeans were more or less one people speaking a single language, they became split up into tribes which developed special dialectal habits. By 2000 B.C., it may be surmised, already some main or noteworthy dialectal diversities had come into existence. Very early we have a broad split among the Primitive Indo-Europeans—dividing them into (1) the Eastern Indo-Europeans, in whose speech certain original guttural sounds were transformed into palatals, and then these palatals in some cases became sibilants; and (2) the Western Indo-Europeans, among whom the original guttural sounds remained as gutturals or in some cases underwent some other and different types of changes. These two broad dialectal groups later consisted of (1) the languages of the palatalizing group known as the **Satem** speeches, and (2) the languages of the group in which the gutturals remained gutturals, and this was known as the **Centum** group. The original Indo-European word for 100, which has been

reconstructed as ***kṃtóm**, became **śatam**, **satam**, **satəm**, **šimtas**, **sŭto**, etc., in the first group; and in the other group, this word occurred as **centum**, **he-katon**, **cant**, **cēt**, **kant**, etc. In other words, already in their undivided state, according to the views of some linguistic scholars, the Primitive Indo-European language (as evolved out of the earlier Indo-Hittite) split up into dialects, and from these dialects originated the various branches of Primitive Indo-European—the languages of the **Satem** Branch like the Indo-Iranic or Aryan (Vedic Sanskrit, Avestan, Old Persian), the Baltic, the Slavic, the Armenian and the Albanian; and the languages of the **Centum** Branch, like Hellenic (Greek), Italic (Latin, etc.), Celtic, Germanic and Tokharian.

We may presume that the single Primitive Indo-European language became split up in the dialects of the very old tribes or branches of it as early as 2500 B.C., if not earlier. Thus we could very well assume that the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians or the Aryans, of the Slavs and the Balts, of the Thraco-Illyrians on the one hand, and of the Hellenes, of the Italic peoples, of the Germanic peoples and of the Celts as well as of the Tokharians on the other, were already noteworthy separate entities, if not distinct branches.

VI

THE EASTERN INDO-EUROPEANS

Of the various sections or branches or tribes of the Primitive Indo-Europeans, there was, particularly by virtue of their geographical proximity, a greater agreement among the ancestors of the Aryans or Indo-Iranians, the Balts, the Slavs and the Thraco-Illyrians (whose dialect is supposed to be represented by the Armenian and the Albanian at the present day), just as there was a closer linguistic agreement among the ancestors of the Hellenes, of the Italic tribes, of the Celts and of the Germans. In the undivided Indo-European world of the *kurgan*-builders, as they began to spread from before 2500 B.C. or even earlier, the Balts appear to have been the northernmost group and the Slavs were living to their south, and the Aryans to their south-east; whereas the Germans, the Primitive Hellenes and the rest were living to their west and south-west. Archaeologists have been able to find out the general lines of the expansion of the Indo-Europeans. In their oldest period, they did not have any knowledge of metals excepting copper, and their implements were made either of stone or of copper. This continued right down to the middle of the second millennium B.C. About that time, they invented by combining

tin and copper the valuable alloy known as *bronze*, and the Primitive Indo-Europeans in their original homeland entered into the Bronze Stage of their history. The Baltic section of the Indo-Europeans was also equally in the Bronze Age. Iron was discovered and put to use later among the Indo-European peoples of Northern and Eastern Europe. In the meanwhile, shortly before 2000 B.C., the ancestors of the Indo-Iranians had come down south into Northern Mesopotamia, and they had picked up the use of iron. This iron they differentiated from copper; and in India, by 1000 B.C., copper was known as 'the red metal', **lōhitam ayas**, and iron as 'the black metal', **kṛṣṇam ayas**. The Sanskrit word **ayas**, in Latin **aes**, was also used to signify bronze which was an alloy of copper and tin and which (as noted above) came into use before iron. In any case, we have from the *kurgans* or barrows or grave-mounds of Central and Northern Russia remnants of the culture of the Baltic section of the ancient Indo-Europeans in Northern Europe—from prehistoric times (about 1150 B.C.) right down to the Modern or late Medieval Age, to A.D. 1200.

The Aryan or Indo-Iranian branch of the **Satem**-speaking group of Indo-Europeans separated from the main body fairly early, and they first came to Northern Mesopotamia and from there they passed on to Persia (Iran) and Afghanistan, and then finally they came to India. This long wandering of the Aryans who came to India took about 700 years, from approximately 2200 B.C. to 1500 B.C. During this time they had come in touch with the highly civilized peoples of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, and had developed their culture in many of its newer material—intellectual and spiritual aspects. The culture which they built up can be described as pre-Vedic, or pre-Avestan, or as

'proto-Aryan'; and a great many elements of what we see in the world of the Vedas and of the Avesta were already in full development in this proto-Aryan or early form of Indo-Iranian culture. Already this proto-Aryan culture had come under the influence of the earlier cultures of the Caucasian area, of Mesopotamia and of Iran. After the Aryans came to India, they were perpetually extending the horizon of their civilization by contact with other peoples, and they took up a new way of life in a different climate and developed their outlook upon life along some new lines; and in collaboration with the earlier peoples, the Aryans in India built up a great system of religion and philosophy, and some significant types of social organization. This enabled them by 1000 B.C. to advance quite a great deal along the path of civilization, so as to be recognized as one of the earlier highly civilized peoples of antiquity. Particularly in the domain of thought, they made certain speculations and observations which had a great value in the intellectual and spiritual as well as social advancement of man.

The Hellenic Indo-Europeans also were in a similar state—their early history, and the formation of the Greek people present a parallel to what happened to the Indo-Aryans. They came down to Greece and settled among the pre-Indo-European Aegean people, and taking up a great many elements of the culture of the latter, they developed the historical civilization of Greece by 1000 B.C. from which period roughly we can trace the beginnings of classical Hellenic civilization. The Greeks, too, became the leaders in early civilization in Eastern and Southern Europe and in Western Asia. In the case of the other branches of the Indo-Europeans, however, such early advancement is not

noticed. What these did in historic times—their own heroic and classical ages from the closing centuries of the first millennium B.C. to the close of the first millennium A.D.—was to a large extent inspired by the Greeks and the Italic peoples from the South—as we see in the case of the Celtic and Germanic peoples. Compared with them the others, the Slavs and the Balts, remained in isolation within their prehistoric Indo-European *milieu* for a longer period. One branch of the Aryans or Indo-Iranians was the Iranian people known as the Sakas or Scythians who came to settle in Central Asia as well as in the southern part of Russia, and there they shared more or less a common type of culture with their Slav and Balt kinsmen—they did not participate in the same advanced life and thought of their own brothers to the South, namely the Iranians and the Indians; and these Scythians in Russia and in Central Asia, cut off from the other Aryans, were also very much influenced in their material culture by the Greeks on the one hand and the Altaic nomads from Central Asia on the other.

So far as the Slavs were concerned, being in closer proximity to the more advanced peoples of the south like the Greeks and the Romans, and later on the Persians and the Arabs, and the Altaic-speaking Mongoloids (in so far as the Mongoloids had advanced in culture through their contact with the Chinese), they showed, from the middle of the first millennium A.D., a greater cosmopolitanism than the Balts. The Balts on the other hand remained isolated to a larger extent right down to the early centuries of the Christian era. During these dark centuries, of which we have no history, the Balts carried on the traditional life of the Primitive Indo-Europeans, with a social organization and a religious atmosphere which they inherited from their Primitive

Indo-European ancestors. The life was that of an agricultural and animal-breeding community, and the Balts had also developed quite a good deal in this line as primitive agriculturists. They had developed, evidently through some early impetus received from the more civilized peoples of the South, a great art of working in metals. Particularly during the first few centuries of the Christian era, which has been described as 'the Golden Age of the Balts', they were the most distinguished metal-workers in Northern and Eastern Europe, and they developed a style of decorative art in metal which was quite unique and which influenced a large number of contiguous peoples. Their personal ornaments in silver and gold, and in bronze and iron and lead, had a remarkable character in both design and execution, with coloured enamel inlay, and this influenced not only the very primitive Finns and Esths in the North, but also the more advanced kinsmen of the Balts like the Slavs and the Germans, and the Celts in the South and West. Here, of course, the impetus was originally from the Mediterranean world of Greece and Rome. But, nevertheless, their hammered metal work and their beautiful ornaments for women and men, with enamel work in red and black and blue and yellow, their vessels, their horse-trappings and also their iron weapons and implements testify to the very high degree of metallurgical advancement among the Balts. At one time the Balts were spread over the whole of Northern and Central Russia from the Ural river and the valley of the Volga right up to the rivers which fall into the Baltic—the Daugava or the Dvina, the Nemunas or the Niemen, and the Vistula. The home of this Baltic section of the Primitive Indo-Europeans, after they had spread all over the vast tract of Central and Northern Russia with their *kurgans* and with their exquisite

achievements in the art of metallurgy, from its extent and from the culture which developed in this part of Europe, became one of the most prominent areas of the ancient Indo-European domain, particularly near about its original homeland.

History has not proved kind to the Balts. Similarly, another branch of the Indo-Europeans, the Celts, who became characterized in their speech in Central Europe and had spread from there to Western Europe and the British Islands (Great Britain and Ireland), were at one time one of the most powerful groups of the Indo-Europeans in Europe, and had progressed in the line of civilization even to a greater extent than their kinsmen and neighbours, the Germanic tribes. But now the Celts have finally been brought to their present state—that of the dwindling Celtic peoples of France and the British Islands, being reduced to only a few millions of them in Britanny (in North-western France) and in Wales and the Highlands of Scotland in Great Britain and among only a few thousands of Irish speakers in the West and North of Ireland. Through the operation of forces in recent history, the Baltic peoples, as a very extensive and powerful branch of Indo-Europeans during the first millennium B.C. right down to the middle of the second millennium A.D., have now been brought down to near about not more than five millions of them, the two millions of Latvians and two-and-a-half millions of Lithuanians. When we think of over 150 millions of Slav speakers and a bigger number of Germanic and Romanic (neo-Latin) speakers, the downfall at least in numbers of the Balts (like that of the Celts) is certainly the instance of a great tragedy for a noble and highly advanced and at one time a numerous and powerful people.

VII

THE BALTS AMONG THE INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

In certain ways, however, the Balts have been instrumental in preserving some of the items of the Primitive Indo-European life and culture, which has not been possible in the case of most of the other branches of the Indo-Europeans, and herein is the special point of interest for the Indians, whose religion and culture and languages (in the North and partly also in the South) are in a way a continuation of the same Primitive Indo-European tradition. To appreciate the basic Indo-Aryan elements in a composite Indian culture, a study of the world of the Balts becomes one of the utmost significance for the Aryan-based culture of India. In a similar way, the primitive cultures of the Greeks, the Italics, the Celts and the Germans have an equally great importance. All these different ramifications of Indo-European mutually explain each other in many of their salient points; and when studied on a comparative basis, they can give us an idea of the Primitive Indo-European situation and atmosphere in the material world as well as in the world of thought, ideas and ideals.

It may be mentioned in passing that during the nineteenth century, when the Baltic peoples, the Latvians and the

Lithuanians, began to study their national literature of the **Dainas** and became conscious of their Indo-European heritage, through their study of it from the German Sanskritists who took a leading part in establishing the 'Aryan' or Indo-Germanic or Indo-European bases of the culture of the European peoples, they developed an uncritical and a rather emotional idea that the Baltic peoples came from the East—from Asia—and as they thought, from India too. It was a semi-sophisticated homage paid to the ancient culture of India with her Vedas and her primeval wisdom, about which many of the Baltic scholars and writers acquired romantic notions from mid-nineteenth-century German Indology, when Latvian and Lithuanian scholars had not yet established their position in Indo-European linguistics and Indo-European archaeology and culture. Baltic writers and poets like Andrejs Pumpurs, the Latvian poet who composed the Latvian national epic of **Lačplēsis** (based on old Latvian ballads and myths and legends) in 1888, and Janis Rainis (1865–1929), the national poet of Latvia, and writers also from Lithuania, described in glowing terms how the culture and wisdom and even the origin of the Balts was from far-away Asia in the East, from India itself. The Latvian writer, Fr. Malbergis, actually wrote in 1856 that the Latvians like the Russians and Germans came from the banks of the Ganga. Another Latvian writer in 1859 put forward the same view. A wise people, the **Burtnieks**, according to the Latvian tradition, brought all science and knowledge to Latvia from India. In Latvian tradition, **Videvuds** was a teacher of this profound wisdom. The old Lithuanian priestesses, the **Vaidilutes**, used to tend the sacred fire as part of the old Indo-European Balt religious rite, and this fire, as a modern Lithuanian poet suggested, 'arrived in Lithuania

from the banks of Ind'. All this yearning among a section of the cultivated Balts in the nineteenth–twentieth centuries can be easily understood as a kind of nostalgia for the golden land of their ancestors in far-away mystic India, the home of Sanskrit and the Vedas which echoed the Baltic speeches and the *Dainas*—a nostalgia which was partly the result of a sense of a national frustration from which the Balts had to suffer from the fourteenth century onwards through the aggression of the Germans, the Poles and the Tsaristic Russians.

But modern science—linguistics, and comparative literature as well as comparative religion, and archaeology and sociology—is now establishing it the other way. It is the land of the Balts and the Slavs of the present day which was the *Urheimat* of the Indo-Europeans, and the Vedic Aryans went to India ultimately from the Balto-Slav areas.

The name **Balt**, now used for this section of Indo-European speakers, has an interesting history. The word was employed in Greco-Roman times in connexion with the sea which fringes upon the Balt homeland and is still known as the *Baltic Sea* (in Latin *Mare Balticum*). About 1845 Nesselman first used it to mean a people—the Baltic people as a branch of the Indo-Europeans. The exact meaning of the word **Balt** is not yet satisfactorily established (unlike that of the word **Celt**, as used for another distinctive branch of the Indo-Europeans. **Celt** is evidently from an old word meaning 'a wandering fighter, a warrior', and its Germanic equivalent is found as **Held** in German and **hæleþ** in Old English). The word **balt** occurs in Lithuanian as **baltas**, **balas** 'white', also **bala** 'waste land', 'marsh', which is found also in Slavic as in Old Slav '**belyiji**' = 'white', White Russian **byelo**, etc., and also in Old Slav **blato** 'moorland', Russian **balta**, with which is connected Albanian **bal'te**. Possibly the marsh lands which were cloaked white with snow got an extension of the word **balt-**, **bal-** in a specialized sense. The *Baltic Sea* similarly got its name because of the snow and ice. The name therefore could be construed to mean 'white marsh lands', and in modern usage, the people who were connected with these lands. The primitive Indo-European root which is the source of this word was ***bhā** or ***bhē** 'to shine', which we have in Sanskrit in an extended form with an affix **-l-** and **-l-** + **-t-**; cf. Greek **phōs** = 'light', Sanskrit **bhās**; cf. also Sanskrit **bhala** 'glint, ray, brightness', and ***bhal-s-** > **bhāṣ**, ***bhḷ-n-** > **bhaṇ** 'to make clear, to speak', etc.

A Primitive Indo-European word for 'white', if it existed at all, would be ***bhalto-**, ***bhḷto-**, as the source of Lithuanian and Latvian **balt-**, and its Sanskrit equivalent would be ***bhaṭa**. There is a series of late words in Sanskrit, **bhaṭas** 'paid servant, mercenary soldier, fighter', **bhaṭṭas** 'master, scholar', **bhaṭṭāras** 'holy one, god, the sun' (also **bhaṭṭāra-ka-**), but these have a different origin—from root **bhṛ** 'to bear, to support' + suffixes **-ta**, **-tṛ**, etc., the original and proper Sanskrit sources of the above late words being **bhṛta-**, **bhartṛ-**. But the existence of a possible Sanskrit word ***bhaṭa**, different in origin from the above, from Indo-European ***bhalto-** or ***bhḷto-** meaning 'white or bright', and their influencing semantically the word **bhaṭṭāra-ka-** to mean 'a god, or the sun' cannot altogether be wholly dismissed.

The use of the name, however, appears not to have been so ancient. One old name for the Balts, given in Latin classical and monastic texts as **Aesti-**, appears to have been extended later on to the northern Finno-Ugrian tribe of the Esthonians or Estonians. The exact significance of this **Aest-Aest-** is not known.

The Baltic people have been until recently one of the most conservative in the world. The chief reason for this has been that they were established at a far-away part of the world where the main streams of civilization could not reach or pass through. In the virgin forest lands and marshes of Northern Russia and the countries to the east and south of the Baltic Sea, the Balts followed their old life without much deviation in the pattern of their ancient cultural world from generation to generation and century to century. Of course, as has been mentioned above, their civilization went on developing, and their Iron Age started contemporaneously with that of their kinsmen, the Germans and the Celts in Central Europe.

The original Indo-European people disposed of their dead by burial inside raised *kurgans* or mounds, and according to their ideology of human survival, they would also bury, sometimes bury after slaughter and sometimes bury alive, the horses and also in some cases the wife and the personal attendants of a big chief, so that he might continue to live in the high state of his mundane life in the next world also. The horse was the most important animal among the Primitive Indo-Europeans, and their taming the horse and putting him into use for riding as well as for drawing carts and chariots was their greatest contribution to material culture. The Indo-European people were a *Horse People*, considering the number of personal names among different branches of Indo-Europeans in which the word for *horse* featured.

But it would appear that cremation as the basic funeral rite in place of burial, simple or elaborate, came to be practised in the Indo-European world fairly early. The ancient Greek Indo-Europeans knew both cremation and burial, and that was by 1000 B.C. In India, too, both the methods of disposal of the dead were known among the Indo-Aryans, but from the Vedic times cremation became established as the normal custom. The Iranians quite early developed the practice of exposing the dead to be devoured by vultures and carnivorous animals. Among the Balts the practice of burial was generally abandoned in favour of cremation during the first half of the first millennium A.D., and most of the Baltic tribes practised cremation. Right down beyond Christian times, until the fifteenth century, this was the common way among the Latvians and Lithuanians. But some of the allied tribes continued the practice of burial and not burning. In this matter we cannot thus form any sure opinion, so that we might reconstruct the situation among the Primitive Indo-Europeans. But a close comparison of the funeral rites of the Vedic Aryans and the ancient Iranians as well as of the other ancient Indo-European peoples like the Greeks and the Italians, with what was current among the later Balts and the Slavs as well as the earlier Germans and the Celts, would give us some positive notions as to the extent of both the rites among later Indo-Europeans.

Our sources for the study of ancient Baltic culture are twofold: (1) Archaeological, and by a study of their ways of life on the material plane (and also in some cases in its religious side) from the objects which have been found out from excavations of their old burial places, dwelling-houses, fortresses and village and town sites; and (2) the other great source is linguistic and literary. In the absence of archaeological remains connected with a particular people, the linguistic and literary evidence takes up a very great importance. In ancient India among the Aryans, it was at first mainly the linguistic and the literary remains of the Indo-Aryan people that enabled us to know something about

their culture. Later on archaeology has also come into operation. With regard to the Balts, it has been literary to a large extent, too, on the model of the study of other ancient Indo-European languages and literatures. But archaeology has been the mainstay for the study of the actual material culture of this branch of the Indo-Europeans, from about the middle of the second millennium B.C. right down to about the middle of the second millennium A.D.

The Baltic languages of the present day are only these two—the Lithuanian and the Latvian—each with its dialects. They appear to have been just one language 1,200 to 1,500 years from now, and they have preserved their old Indo-European character remarkably well right down to our times. There was a third language of the same family, current in what is now German and Polish speaking Prussia, which, as a result of the German onslaught, became extinct by the seventeenth century, being pushed out by the encroaching German. This Baltic speech is known as Old Prussian, and it was very close to Lithuanian. Old Prussian has only some insignificant survivals, and it has left no literature, like Lithuanian and Latvian. Although the extant Baltic languages are very archaic in their character—particularly Lithuanian which in every way seems to present an earlier stage of linguistic development than the Latvian—the oldest specimens of these languages date only from the middle of the sixteenth century when they were first taken down in writing. That was the time when the first Lithuanian and Latvian books were started to be written and printed—books which were Christian in theme and spirit. But a native Baltic and pre-Christian literary tradition was current among all the various tribes of this section of the Indo-Europeans from very ancient times. It will be quite permissible to presume that this

tradition in its beginnings harks back to the days of the Primitive Indo-Europeans. Apart from the Balts, a continuation of this tradition we have among most of the Indo-European peoples, in some way or other, as in the world of the Aryans both of India and Iran, among the Greeks, as well as among the Italic peoples, the Celts and the Germans, and also among the Slavs, and possibly the Armenians as well.

This oral tradition of literary composition in the Baltic languages consisted of short poems or songs which related to all the aspects of their corporate as well as individual life. They were continued from generation to generation, being remembered by the people and being handed over from one generation to the next, like other elements in their traditional folk-culture. On the religious side, this oral tradition in their literature celebrated the divinities whom they held in honour, and referred to some of the ideas which had continued as an inheritance from the Primitive Indo-European people. There is a remarkable similarity in the religious background and ideology of all the ancient Indo-European peoples. This ideology was that of a well-established and organized society of village-dwellers, who were also not entirely rooted to the soil, but had, in connexion with their cattle-farming and stock-raising, some nomadic propensities. But in the Baltic world, as in India, it became more or less a life of farmers rooted in the soil. The average Baltic persons, as much as the other Indo-Europeans in favoured situations, became agriculturists. They worshipped the forces of Nature which regulated their life as their gods and goddesses, and they connected the operations in Nature with human well-being, whether derived from Nature or originated by Man. They worshipped divinities who were more or less

God

personified Forces of Nature—the Sky, the Earth, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, Dawn, Evening, Fire, Water—Springs and Streams and Rivers, the Lakes and the Ocean—as well as the Unseen Forces of Good and Evil, and the Spirit or Force which worked in the living creatures and which brought good to man or did him harm. Besides these, social, moral and other conditions which were thought desirable by man or were inevitable in life, like Truth, Friendship, Happiness, Strength and other 'Virtues' which we associate with human well-being and prosperity and good or bad luck, and Death, were deified. These form the germs of Indo-European faith and cults everywhere. In the highly advanced literature of the Indo-Iranians, as in the Vedas and the Avesta, which became quite well established by 1000 B.C., and in that of the Greeks as in their artistic epics and hymns from after 1000 B.C.,—the works of Homer, of Hesiod, and of the tragic poets Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides—we have quite a great deal of advancement in ideas, and a good amount of thought and sophistication which entered into their world of speculation about Nature and Man. With the exception of the basic human needs and of the fundamental human virtues, the world of the less advanced Indo-European peoples including the Balts did not show much progress or advancement in the line of thought or speculation. The notions of the Baltic peoples about their gods conceived as Forces of Nature, or about human life and endeavour, were continued in anthropomorphic terms right down to the Christian centuries, the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Before the advent of Christianity, there was nothing to bring about a revolution in their way of life and thought. Since they lived in comparative isolation and were quite happy in their primitive village existence, they did not find an urge for any speculation as to the problems

of man and the world outside. So it was a kind of simple and primitive mentality which persisted from ancient Indo-European times right down to the broad daylight of modern civilization among the Balts. We have thus a stream which carried on the waters of a primitive life and faith, unspoiled by external accretions or developments. The Rigveda and portions of the Avesta as well as of the ancient Greek epics and hymns, and specimens of the primitive religious and folk-poetry of the Germanic peoples as preserved in the two Old Norse **Edda** books and the **Volsunga Saga**, and the Old English epic lay of **Bēowulf** and similar works, and in Old Celtic literature as in the heroic sagas of the ancient Irish, e.g. the Mythological, the **Uladh** (*Ulster*) or **Cuchulainn and the Finn cycles**, and the romantic tales of the Old Welsh as in the **Mabinogion** and other works, represent the old Indo-European world in its later and more advanced settings. The ancient Slavs, close neighbours and relations of the Balts, have been enabled to preserve only some very small though precious relics of their Primitive Indo-European inheritance. All that we have in the Slav world are a few faint reminiscences of their pantheon, and certain traces of their pre-Christian and Indo-European atmosphere in a poem like the Old Russian epic 'Word about Igor's Folk' (**Slovo O Pŭlku Igorevě**), and possibly some pre-Christian elements embedded in the ancient Czech legends of their heroic rulers and romantic heroines like **Přemysl** and **Libuše.** This is quite remarkable, when we consider the case of the Balts, the remains of whose pre-Christian and Indo-European heritage are comparatively fairly copious. But we should remember that the Slavs were more in touch with outside peoples than the Balts, and they formed a sort of a buffer, protecting the inner Baltic peoples from the outside world.

Thus it was that the Slavs had to sacrifice a great deal of their ancient heritage through cultural mixture or interference from the contact with peoples who were contiguous to them and with whom they came in close cultural and political relationship.

VIII

THE BALT 'CHARACTER'

The ancient Indo-Europeanism of the Balts projected itself into the Heroic Age of their Struggle with the Germans—a saga of Balt patriotism and sacrifice, with martyrs and heroes like Talvaldis, Virsaitis, Mindaugas, Traidenis, Vytenis, Gediminas and Vytautas.

It would be difficult to describe categorically the 'character' of a people in its historic evolution through many centuries. Attempts, more or less successful—sometimes tentative, sometimes final—have been made to indicate the salient 'characters' of many of the most outstanding peoples of history. These peoples were both of Indo-European and non-Indo-European origin. Their way of thought and way of life have had some significance for mankind as a whole. Thus the ancient Greek *character* has been labelled as *Hellenism*, and one might say it has been successfully formulated by the most outstanding classical scholars of Europe and America. We have similarly *Romanism*, *Hebraism*, *Arabism*, *Sinism*, *Europeanism*, *Africanism*, etc., defined and described. In India, we have been trying to give a factual appraisement of the *Indian Character* as a whole, and also in its component elements, that of the Aryans and

the non-Aryans (the Dravidians, the Kōls or Austrics, and the Tibeto-Burmans or Mongoloids). There has been a certain amount of idealism in our formulation of the Aryan and Indo-European character, both among Indian and European students or enquirers in the subject. Sometimes the character of two connected peoples has been sought to be brought into clear light by posing an opposition between two types—e.g. Roman and Teuton, or Greek and Roman, or Teuton and Slav, or Celtic (as among the Gauls, the Irish and the Welsh) and Latin or Germanic (as among the Romans, and the English), or Balt and Slav, etc.

We have tried elsewhere to discuss the *Black African* and the *Indian* character.* I have not seen a statement about the Baltic character anywhere. But as it strikes me, after reading a little about the various Baltic peoples of antiquity, and after having seen something of the life of the present-day Balts, in general, in Soviet Latvia and Lithuania, it may be said of the Balts as an ancient branch of the Indo-Europeans that the all-round impression that is left on our mind, after some study of their past culture and history and their present life and ways, is that they are pre-eminently a fine and a lovable and a most cultured and high-minded people, devoted to the ways of peace in living their simple agricultural life, fond of song and dance and music and flowers, and simple in mind and in religious faith. They loved in ancient times, and still love decoration through

* See my *Africanism, the African Personality:* with a Foreword by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (former President of India), Calcutta, 'Bengal Publishers Pte. Ltd.', 14 Bankim Chatterji Street, 1960, pp. 220, with 24 plates; and my *Indianism and the Indian Synthesis*, being the Kamala Lectures for 1947 (1959) under the auspices of the University of Calcutta, Calcutta University Press, 1962, pp. 208.

ornaments and jewellery and beautiful and colourful clothes, showing at the present day an uncommon good taste in their folk costume. They were not bellicose, and were not in the least inclined to harm others or to domineer over them. But they have been quite valiant and courageous in fighting for their freedom and their rights.

The Balts were not eager for money or power, but were quietly bringing their own contribution to human civilization by their skill in crafts, and by living a life of peace and joy amidst Nature which they had evolved in their environment. Their intense patriotism is a noteworthy trait through the centuries. Not particularly profound or distinctive in their philosophy, they have always manifested a simple old-world faith in the existence of a divinity who is good and kind and helpful to man in the latter's endeavour to live the good life: and this is as good a record of a people as any.

In order to understand some of the finest traits in the Balt character in both their mind and spirit, it will be necessary to know something of the German-Balt and Polish-Balt struggle down to the fifteenth century, when the heroic as well as the humane qualities of the Baltic people came out most conspicuously.

With regard to other peoples with their different ways of life, the Balts preserved to the last, particularly during their life-and-death struggle with the German aggressors, the old Indo-European way of 'live and let live'—of tolerance and even acceptance, which we find conspicuously developed among the Hindus, and among the ancient Greeks. This ancient inheritance, from their Indo-European past, of mental and spiritual inclusiveness and an instinctive will to comprehend and harmonize, which we find most highly developed among the kinsmen of the Balts in India and

Greece, was retained in the Baltic way of thought and action in their heroism and their gentlemanliness, and it may be said to have been projected from their high antiquity into their history—their dealings with other peoples—right down to the middle of the medieval age. Their enlightened princes and leaders, kings and rulers, both among the Lithuanians and Latvians and the Old Prussians, formed a great roll of honour not only in the Indo-European world, but also in the entire world of humanity.

The Balts certainly derived a great sustenance from their ancestral Indo-European religion, and for centuries they preferred to undergo sorrow and suffering and martyrdom in their own faith rather than accept the so-called religion of Christ from their German invaders and oppressors. The example may be mentioned of the Latvian martyred chief, Talivaldis, who was captured in battle by the 'Christian' Germans and then slowly burnt to death, but he did not yield his faith; and that of the Virsaitis, or Prince Imanta, who led his people against the invading German hosts, but finally died in a mortal combat with his brother, Kaupo, who had gone over to the Germans—Kaupo was wounded to death, but Imanta was struck by a sword which was poisoned by the Germans without Kaupo's knowledge (twelfth century). There were hundreds of cases of similar martyrdom and suffering among both Latvians and Lithuanians.

The westernmost Baltic State of Prussia was first subjugated by German crusaders belonging to the Teutonic order of the Holy Virgin Mary, with the blessings of Pope Gregory IV, in 1231. The result was disastrous for the Balts. The Baltic Prussian language was banned by the Germans, and the masses were made into serfs, and even those Prussians who were baptized were not given the basic rights of

Christians. The torture of a whole people who stood in the way of this early German *Drang nach Osten*, or Expansion to the East, was so cruel and heartless that several Popes between 1245 and 1256 remonstrated with the German conquerors and admonished them to be more humane. The Baltic Prussians did not take this conquest lying down. Whenever an opportunity presented itself, with their Lithuanian brothers, during the decades after 1231, succeeding in giving a defeat to the German oppressors—'the evil guests'—the Prussians would rise as a whole people in rebellion. These risings the Germans suppressed with the greatest ferocity, and by occupying the land and settling it with German and Polish colonists, and forcing out, as refugees into Lithuania in the east, those Prussians who did not want to live as slaves. In Lithuania they were welcomed by their kinsmen, and resettled. These sanguinary life-and-death struggles during the years 1243–1249 and 1260–1274 practically sealed the fate of Baltic Prussians, who became virtually lost to the Baltic world from 1274 onwards.

In this final struggle, the Prussian leaders, the Princes Monte, Glappes, Auktums, Divane and others who fought to the last, amidst terrible atrocities perpetrated against the people by mass massacres, hanging of hostages, and tortures of refined cruelty, were the great heroes and martyrs. Prince Monte was tied to a tree and then speared through the heart.

The fate of Latvia came next, which was brought under the sway of the Germans in 1290, after equally heroic resistance from the Latvians. The Latvian fight against the Germans has put iron into the souls of the people as with the Lithuanians, and it was equally a Heroic Age with them. The memory of all this has been kept green all through the centuries, and revived by the great writers of Latvia's literary

renaissance during the nineteenth–twentieth centuries, by national poets and dramatists like A. Pumpurs and J. Rainis. The primitive mythological story of a culture-hero of superhuman origin, **Lačplēsis**, who was born of a she-bear and had bear's ears, who freed the country from bears and other wild animals, who had adventures with sages and sorceresses, mythical animals and spirits of evil, and who cannot be pinned down to any period of time, was interwoven with the age of the struggle between the Latvians and the German crusaders in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries. This story was thus given a national and a heroic setting, and made into an epic poem of a special character. This epic, the *Lačplēsis* of Pumpurs, a short work of 4,800 lines, published in 1888, became a sort of a national poem for the Latvians, embodying their aspirations for freedom and a golden world and their fights with the Germans for their homeland and their national religion. The great poet and dramatist, Janis Rainis (1865–1929), utilized the theme of Pumpurs's epic and made it into a powerful drama with an allegorical character, *Uguns en Nakts* ('Fire and Night', 1908), the sublimation of folk-myths and of memories of the long fight for liberation with the Germans. Finally, Rainis's romantic-historical drama of *Indulis un Arija* (1911) gave a psychological treatment of a heroic theme which has been found in Latvian tradition as preserved in the work of a medieval German writer—the conflict between love and patriotism, when the Latvian prince, Indulis, fighting the Germans for the freedom of his people, and Arija, the daughter of the German army-leader, fell in love with each other, the story ending in a tragedy with the death of the lovers.

Struggles of Lithuania with the Germans started from the second half of the twelfth century. Unity of the Lithuanians

was brought about by German raids, under the then king, Mindaugas, about 1236. There was an immediate attack by the German crusaders after a crusade was proclaimed by the Pope in 1235. There was at first a great defeat of the Germans by the Lithuanians who were probably led by Vykinas, a Samagitan Prince, and a close collaborator of Mindaugas. This encouraged rebellion against Germans by the Baltic peoples in Prussia and Livonia. The Germans were now determined to crush the Lithuanians. The Lithuanians had to fight with the Mongol invaders from the East, and under Prince Erdivilas they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mongols in the battle of Seibek-laukis in 1242, but Prince Erdivilas soon after was killed in a skirmish with the retreating Tatars.

There was a spell of Lithuanian expansion in the East after this, and Russian Slavs were conquered. The Ruthenians and others welcomed the Lithuanians as liberators from the Tatars, and the Lithuanians following their old religion did not interfere with their Christian Ruthenian subjects in their religion and language, and gave them 'efficient administration, strict justice and personal safety'.

But Mindaugas was not permitted to consolidate a national non-Christian Lithuanian State. He was constantly attacked by the Catholic Livonian branch of the German Order of Crusaders, by orthodox Slav Christian princes from the East, and by some most intensely pagan Lithuanians. The paganism of the Lithuanians was made the sole reason for German and West European aggression, and pagan Lithuanians were looked upon as subhuman beings, fit only to be killed or enslaved. Mindaugas was forced by circumstances to become baptized as a Catholic Christian, with 600 of his nobles, in 1250, as a definite measure to save his own

people from near annihilation. The result was that some respite was given to his nation to live on in some sort of freedom, and the Pope gave his recognition in 1251 to Mindaugas as king of Lithuania.

This staved off the danger for some time, but internal fights for power among various groups of Christians—Germans, Poles and some Lithuanians, and the pagan Lithuanian princes—did not allow any time to Mindaugas to organize his State. His wife, Queen Martha, became an ardent Catholic, and two of his sons, Princes Ruklys and Rupeikis, were both Roman Catholics, and one son, Vaišvilkas, became a Greek orthodox monk in Greece.

The Germans were pushing into the heart of Lithuania although Mindaugas had become Christian. The Samagite branch of the Lithuanian Balts, intensely pagan (or Indo-European), defeated the combined armies of all the Teutonic crusaders and other foreign Christians at a pitched battle in 1260. This led to an immediate insurrection among the Prussian branch of the Balts against the Germans, and this was savagely suppressed by 1274. The want of cohesion among the pagan Balts, combined with the persistent attacks from the Germans (reinforced through the influence of the Pope in Rome by Christian adventurers from Western Europe like the French and the English) made the statesmanship and bravery of the Baltic kings and their troops fail in the long run. King Mindaugas's attempt to unite all the Balts as a single national entity against the German marauders did not succeed. An able leader after Mindaugas was his sister's son, Treniota (or Trainaitis), who had led the Šamagitic Lithuanians to a great victory against the Germans. Mindaugas had some grandiloquent schemes for the expansion of his kingdom into an empire, and in 1263 he sent an

expedition against the Slavs deep into the heart of Russia. He failed (as a Christian and a Catholic ruler) to support his Baltic Prussian kinsmen when they rose against the Germans, and this was openly declared to be treason against his own people. There was a plot against him, and conspirators headed by Treniota murdered king Mindaugas the Catholic and his two sons, Ruklys and Rupeikis, in 1263. One of the conspirators was Prince Daumantas, a brother-in-law of king Mindaugas.

After this there was struggle for power among the chiefs, but Treniota, who was strong in his faith in the national Baltic religion and an ardent nationalist, succeeded in becoming king. He tried to revive Prussia by helping the insurgents, wanted to re-establish a strong pagan Lithuanian State, and treated harshly his Christian relatives and his uncle Mindaugas's Christian collaborators. But only after two years' reign he was killed in 1265.

The third son of Mindaugas, namely Vaišvilkas, who had retired to a Greek orthodox monastery, now came out, and ruled till 1268 when he abdicated in favour of Švarnas, his brother-in-law. But Vaišvilkas was murdered by Knyaz Lev of Volodomir, a Russian chief, and Švarnas died a year after, in 1269. The house of Mindaugas thus became extinct.

Again there was fight for power, and out of this emerged Prince Traidenis as the paramount person in Lithuania in 1270, and he ruled until 1282. Traidenis was a great Lithuanian king, a purely national monarch and a pagan Lithuanian. His strong policy of fighting the German crusaders and his aim to unite all the Baltic peoples into one state largely succeeded. He refused to have any alliance with the Germans, the sworn enemies of the Balts. But the Teutonic order could not be crushed, as it was constantly

supported by the rest of Western Europe. This made his victories futile in the end. He had no trouble with the Russians in the East, who were chafing under the heel of the Mongols and preferred the mild Lithuanian rule. Traidenis also fought the Poles whom he considered to be the allies of the Germans in bringing about the ruin of Baltic Prussia. He was successful, however, in largely consolidating Lithuania. The Lithuanians finally halted the German drive through their country.

The history of the Lithuanian people after the death of Traidenis in 1282 is not clear. King Vytenis ruled between 1295 and 1316, and after this, Gediminas, said to be his brother, became king and ruled from 1316 to 1341. Vytenis had succeeded, even though a pagan, in having an alliance with the German Christians at Riga and elsewhere, and this gave his people some breathing time. This alliance had great political value—it gave recognition to the heathen Lithuanians that they had a right to live their own way of life. It showed also some weakening among the Teutonic order. Subsequent pagan rulers of Lithuania appreciated the importance of this alliance, as it enabled them to come in touch with Christian Western Europe and with Rome as the centre of Christendom, and to tell the world the truth about the atrocities and injustices of the German invasions carried on in the name of Christ. The Lithuanians from now had the use of the port of Riga as an outlet for commerce and as a place for import of arms.

Balt v. Teuton—this struggle, however, continued unabated for a hundred years, until the great battle of Tannenberg, 15th July, 1410, when the Lithuanian leader, the Grand Duke Vytautas, with his Polish allies crushed for ever the power of the German knights. King Gediminas

was one of the most remarkable figures in Balt history. By wars and by diplomacy, he extended his rule among the Ruthenians (Malorussky or Little Russians) and the Velikorussky (or the Great Russians). He had an able general in Daujotas, said to be a son of Prince Daumantas, a brother-in-law of king Mindaugas mentioned before. Daujotas was nicknamed 'the Death of the Christians', as he is said to have destroyed 140 Christian church-hamlets. But this great fighter who had never lost a battle, and was a great champion of Balt paganism, was shot to death in 1326 by a Pole for a private grievance.

King Gediminas, king of the Lithuanians and of the Ruthenians and other peoples, was a staunch follower of the faith of his ancestors, and he was in addition quite an enlightened diplomat. He corresponded (in Latin) with the Pope, and placed the point of view of the followers of the Baltic national religion before the Christian world. He refused to accept the suggestion of the Pope to be baptized, and recounted how the Lithuanian rulers, Mindaugas and others, once became Christian, but the wrongs inflicted by the Christian Germans continued unabated, and Mindaugas himself is said to have finally renounced Christianity. The internal feuds among the various sections of the German Christians, and the ill-suppressed fanatical hatred of the Germans for all Balts, whether pagan or Christian, confirmed Gediminas to remain firm in his Indo-European faith. Gediminas's letters and representations, however, were effective to some extent in making the Pope command the Teutonic order to stop all incursions against Lithuania and to hold to the peace-pact made with the Lithuanians.

Some letters of Gediminas, particularly those written in 1323, formed a stirring appeal to the conscience of the

Christian world for justice and tolerance and fair play in the domain of religion:

> In November, 1323, Gedminas told the envoys of the Papal Nunzios that he had not promised to receive baptism: he had merely promised to preserve peace with Christendom. 'I had stated verily that I will permit the Christians to worship God according to the manner of their faith, the Ruthenes according to theirs, the Poles according to theirs, while we ourselves will worship God according to our customs. We all worship one God.'..
>
> The Nunzios' emissaries, accompanied by a Lithuanian noble, are said to have repeated the ruler's message to the Nunzios in Riga: 'I do not know your Pope, nor do I crave to know him. I shall remain in the faith inherited by paternal tradition, and I shall defend it with blood unto my death' (**Papam vestram nec novi, nec nosse cupio; fidem ac religionem, quam paterna traditione accepi, in ea permanebo, certans pro illa sanguine usque ad mortem).**

(From Constantine R. Jurgela, *History of the Lithuanian Nation*, Lithuanian Cultural Institute, Historical Research Section, New York, 1948, p. 86. I have in the main followed this exceedingly valuable and well-documented work for the narrative about the Pagan-Christian struggle among the Balts in this section.)

The quiet dignity and the manly stand for his ancestral faith as manifested in these protests by letters from Gedimínas against 'Christian' savagery, and his vindication of the 'heathen' Lithuanians, following a humane and liberal policy towards the Christians of the various sects living within his domains, are indeed remarkable, when we consider the barbarian mentality and methods of those who came to plunder and destroy in the name of Christ. One cannot but admire profoundly the civilized and enlightened attitude of a non-Christian Baltic King of the fourteenth century, inspired by the national inheritance of his ancient Indo-European

religion, *vis-à-vis* the utter barbarism and the greedy fanaticism as well as spiritual bankruptcy of the Christendom of the German crusaders and their Italian teachers, who were trying by means fair or foul (anticipating the later sophistry and hypocrisy of the principle of 'the end justifying the means') to extend the religious empire of the Pope and to exploit and crush out of existence a noble and harmless people. The Germans and Italians were at that time not in a position to know that they were seeking to destroy a people who were their own kinsmen within the Indo-European family, and whose only fault was that they wanted to live and let live, and had faith in the ways of peace rather than in the ways of violence.

Further correspondence with the Pope followed, and the latter gave strong directives to the Teutonic order to follow scrupulously the peace-pact with the Lithuanians. The Pope still hoped for peaceful conversion of Gediminas. Gediminas, however, remained firm in his faith, and he left a strong and a free Lithuania, the only heathen State in Europe in the fourteenth century. He was responsible for the building of two important cities in Lithuania—Trakai, with its strong castle in an island in a lake area, and Vilnius or Vilna where he built a castle on the top of an overlooking hill, where the miracle of a wolf indicating the site of a strong and enduring city is credited by Lithuanian tradition to have taken place.

King Gediminas at his death divided his kingdom among his eight sons. After some mutual adjustments, two of these sons, Algirdas and Kęstutis, became rulers at Vilnius and at Trakai respectively, and they jointly ruled over Lithuania for 32 years (1345–1377). The two kings ruled in perfect amity and harmony. The Germans made a final attempt to conquer Lithuania, and organized a grand crusade

against pagan Lithuania with huge armies from Christian States of Slav Bohemia and Magyar Hungary and with hosts of Western European 'crusaders', but they were not successful in their aim. They changed their tactics after this, and started sending constant small raids (*Kleinkrieg*) into Lithuania—leading over 100 major raids. The Lithuanians retaliated by sending 42 counter-raids into German territories in Prussia and Latvia. The Germans now began to have respect for the Lithuanians, and although the latter were still pagans, the German raids could no longer be of the nature of massacres of a disorganized people, but were fights with troops of a stable kingdom. Kęstutis won the respect of the Germans as a truly chivalrous knight. The Germans were defeated in two important battles in 1348 and 1362, and again in 1377. Nevertheless, persistent attempts at Christianizing the Lithuanians continued from the side of the Pope, with the support of the Poles and the Magyars. The Lithuanian rulers were hesitant. Polish-Lithuanian relations also became acute and unfriendly, owing to the territorial ambitions of the Polish rulers.

Algirdas sought to extend his influence and power among the Russians—both of Moscow and Kiev, which were continually suffering from the tyranny of their Tatar conquerors. In spite of his pagan religion, he became involved in Orthodox Greek and Roman Catholic intrigues and moves and counter-moves for power among his subjects. The Greek Church was specially anxious to enlist the support of Algirdas. Some Lithuanians who had become members of the Greek Church also stood against their king because of his religion. But he is said to have read Greek scriptures, and both of his wives were Orthodox Ruthenian princesses; yet he remained a convinced heathen. He made this declaration

formally to the Christians: 'The King of Lithuania spake: This I understand clearly that they (the Crucifers, i.e. crusaders) covet my wealth, and not my faith, as they simulate, and therefore, I shall persevere in the paganism'.* But nevertheless, the royal line of Gediminas was getting mixed up with the new religion of their Russian and of some of their own Baltic subjects, of their Polish allies, and of their German enemies—with both Greek Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. Algirdas had spent 25 years of his life, in youth and later, among Slav Christians, before coming to Vilnius; and he had led expeditions into Germany as far West as Magdeburg and Frankfurt. He had marched against Moscow three times, and in 1372 he and his brother, Kęstutis, entered Moscow as conquerors. Both the brothers were tolerant towards other religions; but the Christian atmosphere was so persistent and strong that they permitted baptism of their children and relations, either into Greek Orthodox or into Roman Catholic Christianity. They also freely intermarried with Slavs (Russians and Poles), and several well-known families of Russian and Polish nobility originated from scions of the family of Gediminas. Algirdas's sons who were born in Russia became Orthodox Christians, and those who were born in Vilnius were brought up in the Baltic pagan faith.

Algirdas died in 1377, naming his son, Jogaila, as his successor. His brother, Kęstutis, loyally followed this decision, and Jogaila was made supreme ruler of what may justly be called the Lithuanian empire. Kęstutis's son, Vytautas, and

* C. R. Jurgela, *op. cit.*, p. 96, footnote: **Rex Litaonie aiebat: In hoc luculenter conprehendo, quod non meam fidem, ut simulant, sed pecuniam appetunt, et ideo in paganismo perseverabo.**

his cousin, Jogaila the new king, were great friends, and carried on jointly the administration of the State. Jogaila disliked his Orthodox Christian relations. He wanted to come to some understanding with the Germans. The policies of Jogaila and Vytautas, who were both young men below 30, with regard to the Germans, seem to be complicated and not clear, as also are their fights with the Russians and treaties with the Tatars. They seem to have counted upon the neutrality of the Germans in their fight with Moscow, where they ultimately failed in spite of the booty they collected. It would appear that a secret pact was made with the Germans by the cousins, which was kept hidden from Vytautas's father, Kęstutis. Through family intrigues for power, in which religion had also a part (e.g. the strong Orthodox Christianity of Jogaila's mother, Juliana, which was hated by Kęstutis) ultimately came Kęstutis's death, either by suicide, or by murder at the instance of his nephew, Jogaila, or it was more probably a natural death through old age and broken heart, in an atmosphere of family intrigues and strife among his own people heightened by German interference. This happened in August 1382.

Kęstutis's body was cremated with all ceremonial and ritual of the old Baltic religion, with his horses, dogs and falcons and his weapons and personal effects. It was the last great pagan funeral ceremonial among the Lithuanians in Vilnius.

Kęstutis's marriage, about A.D. 1350, with Birutė began with a romance, and the circumstances throw some side-light upon pre-Christian Lithuanian religion and society during the fourteenth century. Birutė was the daughter of a fisherman at the village of Palanga by the Baltic Sea (according to another version, she was the daughter of a Lithuanian

nobleman named Vidmantas). The oldest account of the marriage of Kęstutis and Birutė is preserved in an Old Russian work of the middle of the sixteenth century known as *the Annals of the Lithuanian and Samogitian Grand Duchy*. The Lithuanian poet, Silvestras Valiūnas (1787–1831), composed a poem of 60 verses, *the Thoughts of the Old Samogitian on the Hill of Birutė* on this story, and this poem became a very popular one as a ballad or song of love and romance. It is said that the young Grand Duke of Lithuania, Kęstutis, while visiting Palanga met a simple village girl who was bringing their dinner to her brothers who were fishermen. Struck by her beauty, Kęstutis proposed to marry her. Birutė at first refused, because she was a *Vaidilutė*, and a votary of Perkūnas, the God of Thunder. The *Vaidilutės* were like the Vestal Virgins of Ancient Rome, who used to look after the sacred ever-burning fire, and they had to take a vow of chastity all through their life. But Kęstutis carried her away by force, and led her with great pomp to his capital city of Trakai, where he celebrated the marriage with all festivity. Birutė bore three sons to Kęstutis, the eldest of whom was Vytautas, Grand Duke of Lithuania and one of the greatest of Balt heroes and rulers. In a Latin work, the *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarm* ('Writings on Prussian Affairs'), II, 620, the death of the aged Kęstutis has been described as having been due to murder by strangulation by his two nephews, Jogaila and Skirgaila, but this is contradicted by other sources. According to this work, an uncle and a nephew of Birutė were killed by Jogaila at the time of Kęstutis's death, and Birutė herself was drowned in a lake at the same time. This was in 1382, when Birutė was about 52 years of age. She was cremated among the sand-dunes of Palanga. Birutė, because of her beauty, the romance

behind her marriage, and her having been the mother of Vytautas, became a person of great popularity among the Lithuanians (girls in Lithuania are even now frequently named after her), and the place where she was cremated after her death and where she and Kęstutis first met is known as 'the Hill of Birutė'. A modernistic statue of Birutė in bronze has been set up some years ago at the place where her cremation took place, and the story of Birutė and Kęstutis meeting each other has been treated in art—the Lithuanian sculptor, V. Gyras, has done a fine group in stone showing Kęstutis on horseback meeting Birutė—V. Gyras has also executed a powerful statue of Vytautas in bronze. (Notes on the story of Birutė were kindly supplied by my friends from Vilnius, Dr. Antanas Poška and Professor Ričardas Mironas.)

The Poles at that time were more or less united, and their 23 principalities became a single State under Casimir, a son-in-law of the Lithuanian king Gediminas. Casimir died childless and he was succeeded by his nephew, Ludwig, who was king of Hungary. Ludwig died in 1382 leaving two daughters, the younger of whom, Hedwig or Jadwiga, was made queen of Poland, on condition that she was to be married to a bridegroom to be selected by the Polish nobility. The bridegroom selected was Jogaila, or Jogello, as the Poles called him, and the Poles had an idea of uniting Poland and Lithuania into one State, leading ultimately to the dominance of Poland over Lithuania. Jogaila was to be king both of Poland and of Lithuania. The marriage was opposed by Queen Hedwig herself, who was a girl of 14, and she would have preferred to marry the German prince to whom she was affianced by her father. But finally her consent was obtained, and the marriage took place in 1386, after Jogaila

was baptized into Catholicism with his retinue, and he received the name of Ladislas; and after marriage he was crowned king of Poland.

Vytautas, who accompanied his cousin Jogaila to Cracow in Poland for these events, had already been quietly baptized by the Germans on 21st October, 1383, and had assumed the Christian name of Wigand after his godfather. He found it expedient to change his religion as the Germans at that time were helping him to fight Jogaila to get back his inheritance. Jogaila finally relented and agreed to restore to Vytautas his patrimony, and this brought about a reunion of the two cousins against the Germans. Later Vytautas became an Orthodox Christian with the name of Alexander, but finally he reverted to Catholicism.

The marriage of Jogaila with Hedwig and the union in his person of the kingships of Lithuania and Poland were fraught with far-reaching results for both Poland and Lithuania. Through the example of the two cousins, the Lithuanians, at least outwardly, were brought within Christianity in 1387. Polish nobles and adventurers now began to throng in Lithuania. Roman Catholic Christian ideas came to remove the old Lithuanian religion from the life of the upper classes, although the masses for centuries were not much affected by the new religion. The rights and privileges of the Christian Lithuanian nobles were established in a series of codified laws in Lithuania in 1387.

Vytautas (known to the Germans as Witowt, Vitaut and Vitoldus in a Latinized form) was born about 1350 as the son of Kęstutis and his queen Birutė. He had opportunities of learning quite a lot in the cosmopolitan court at Trakai and Vilnius. He had some education from the Catholic monks and captive crusaders, and had seen and

met people of many nationalities. He now wanted to be the ruler of the whole of Lithuania. In 1388, he assumed the title of *Magnus Dux* (or 'Grand Duke') of Lithuania, and Jogaila did not oppose. Polish garrisons in Vilnius established by Jogaila were being looked upon with disfavour by the people. After many devious adventures and negotiations, with continued interference from the Germans, and after Jogaila found that his position in Poland was weakening and that the Teutonic order was getting stronger and stronger, Jogaila decided to relinquish the Lithuanian throne to Vytautas, whose ability, vision and resourcefulness he had to admit. He gave the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with its capital at Vilnius to Vytautas, who accepted it out of deference to the superior position of Jogaila. Vytautas called himself *Grand Duke* of Lithuania, and not *King*, and he recognized Jogaila as just King of Poland, who had nothing to do with Lithuania—a virtual assumption of Lithuanian independence from Poland. The Polish connexion and Polish demands were harassing, but Vytautas and the Lithuanians ignored them.

Vytautas consolidated his power at home, and then as a Christian king he turned his attention towards conquering the non-Christian (Muslim and pagan) Tatars; and with the support of Pope Boniface IX, after varying adventures, he was successful in obtaining the submission of the Khan of Crimea, which remained under Lithuania until 1475. Crimean Tatars (Turks) as soldiers in the employ of Vytautas were settled as mercenary cavalrymen in Podolia, in Ukraina and in Lithuania, where they have remained loyal to the country of their adoption.

The crowning achievement of Vytautas was the crushing defeat which he was able to inflict, with the assistance of the

Polish troops of his cousin, king Jogaila of Poland, at the field of Tannenberg (in East Prussia) on 15th July, 1410. This was one of the most decisive battles of European history, and the final vindication of the Baltic Lithuanians aided by their Slav Polish allies and some Tatar levies, against the age-long aggression and oppression of the Teutons. This great victory, followed up by a further victorious campaign, finally put an end to the German *Drang nach Osten* into the Baltic lands which had started in the eleventh century and which had led to the destruction of the Prussian Balts and had inflicted incalculable sufferings on the Lithuanians, the Latvians and other Balts. It was the close of the disastrous *Teuton* v. *Balt* chapter of European history and of internal Indo-European relations.

Vytautas 'personified the vengeance of his people for the two centuries of horrible crimes perpetrated by the Teutons'.

The subsequent career of Vytautas was engaged in consolidating his country, in effecting a complete union of the State, in combating intrigues of the Germans and the Poles, and in seeking to effect a union of churches, and in his efforts to free his country from the stranglehold of Poland. In the midst of an eventful life, Vytautas, still negotiating with his cousin and the Poles regarding the satisfactory solution of the Lithuanian-Polish tangle, died at Trakai on 27th October, 1430, with Jogaila by his bedside.

The body of Vytautas lay in state for eight days before interment. Traditional old Lithuanian *raudos* or public dirges by weeping Lithuanians were sung three times a day during this lying in state. He was interred in the cathedral of Vilnius. At his deathbed, the Bishop Matthew, of German origin, speaking Lithuanian fluently, asked Vytautas 'whether he believed in life after death. Vytautas answered

that he had entertained some doubts in the past, but that presently he believed firmly', evidently according to the Catholic faith. Was it a case of the Baltic king's final spiritual surrender—echoing Emperor Julian's **vicisti, Galilæe ?**

And so passed away one of the greatest of the Balts, and certainly one of the most important figures in European history. He was also acclaimed *as the greatest personality of his period,* and as a veritable Alexander the Great of Lithuania by some of the great Christian religious leaders like Francis de Comitibus and Aeneas Silvius de Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II). Like his illustrious grandfather Gediminas, Vytautas left a wonderful and a convincing testimony to the great qualities, in peace and war and in religion and tolerance, of the Baltic 'character'.

For the rest, the Balts have not forgotten their great heroes who sought to retain their freedom and protect their religion and their culture. The names of Talivaldis and Virsaitis (Imanta) are still held in great respect among the Latvians, and among the Lithuanians the names of Mindaugas, Vykinas, Erdivilas, Gediminas, Algirdas, Kęstutis (and his wife Birutė) and Vytautas are quite commonly given to children even at the present day. Their memories are sought to be kept green among a grateful people in this way.

IX

RECORDS OF THE ANCIENT BALT CULTURE-WORLD

The Baltic world, when we think of this matter, has preserved a more or less pristine Indo-European atmosphere. But this has been changed a great deal in transmission, and it has not been wholly free from outside influences either.

The ancient pre-Christian or pure Indo-European tradition in Baltic language and literature has come down in an unbroken stream no doubt, but when it was first recorded for posterity, it was in very late times. Foreign peoples like the Greeks and Romans, who came for trade (in the special products of the Baltic lands like amber) and later the Germans who came to despoil and destroy the Balts, as well as travellers from the ancient or medieval Germanic world like England and Scandinavia, have left us some precious bits of information about the pre-Christian heathendom and pagan ways of life and belief among the Balts. In the case of the German writers who were mostly inspired by a very primitive and bigoted Christian mentality incapable of understanding the atmosphere and ideology of a non-Christian culture, their descriptions have not any real scientific value except in an indirect manner. The Balts, like other Indo-European peoples of antiquity, did not have

any system of writing of their own, while writing (borrowed from foreign peoples) appears to have been in use among the Greeks as early as the fourteenth century B.C. (Mycenean Greeks), and among the Aryans in Mesopotamia as well as the Indo-Hittites in Asia Minor (the Mitannians, and the Nesians or Hittites). A full alphabet (or something near about it) to write Sanskrit would appear to have come into being in India as early as the tenth century B.C., when (as it seems exceedingly likely) a primitive form of the Brahmi script was evolved in Northern India on the basis of the latest phase of the Mohen-jo-Daro script; and a little later in Greece the Phoenician alphabet was transformed by the Greeks into a full alphabet for the Greek language. But as in ancient India before the compilation of the Vedas, and as in other Indo-European areas, the priests and the sages of the Balts composed their songs and poems and ritualistic notes and their historical traditions, and these were passed on orally from generation to generation. There were of course inevitable changes in the subject-matter and in language, but on the whole the essential character of this oral literature was maintained almost intact.

Christianity came to the Baltic world in the wake of the Poles and Germans in Lithuania and through the missionary and military aggression of the Germans first in Prussia (which was originally a land wholly inhabited by Baltic-speakers), and then in Latvia to the north of Lithuania. It was Roman Catholicism in the case of the Lithuanians, and later on, after the impress of the Reformation in North Germany, it was German Protestantism among the Latvians. The ancient Prussians as a Baltic people were completely destroyed, or absorbed among the Germans, in the seventeenth century. But because Christianity represented the religion

of the hated foreigners who came to despoil and tyrannize over them, and because the native tradition in the old religion and the old way of life was going very strong among the Balts, Christianity could not make much impression upon the life of the Baltic people. The Roman Catholic priests, whether from Poland or from Italy or from among the native Lithuanians, might carry on their religious rituals and their preachings, and the German pastors under the umbrage of the German lords who had established themselves in Latvia might take a lukewarm interest in the complete Christianization of the Latvians; but this hardly affected the life of the masses, even though a good percentage of the upper classes among the Balts formally accepted Christianity in either form, and even though some of them tried to understand it and to propagate it among their own people. But the general run of people in the villages continued more or less their old life and their old faith. They went on following, although in a very modified form, their old feasts and festivals in honour of the gods, and the course of life of an ancient agricultural community went on along its own lines; and here the singers and the reciters of the old Balt poems went strong. The result was that these ancient songs of the Balts as they were current among the two sections of the living Baltic peoples have continued almost down to our day, although until recently neglected by the intellectual classes whose mind became oriented towards Christianity in the West, and condemned and persecuted by the more ardent Christian priests. In spite of being liable to inner disintegration as well as to integration with Christian ideas, all this Baltic traditional poetry, religious and otherwise, continued nevertheless to flourish, both through conservation and through addition and transformation.

This kind of literature in verse, of oral provenance, is known both in Lithuanian and Latvian as **daina** (Lithuanian **dainà**, Latvian **daina**). This old Balt word has very interesting relationship with similar words in the Indo-Iranian world. It comes from an Indo-European root, meaning 'to think', 'to remember', 'to ponder over', and this root is found in Sanskrit as **dhī** and **dhyā**. In Vedic Sanskrit we have the word **dhēnā**, which occurs in the Ṛgveda in the sense of 'speech', as reflecting outwardly the inner thought of man; and in Avestan the cognate equivalent is **daēnā**, and **daēnā** is a very common word in the *Gāthās*, meaning either 'inner self of man' (= the self which perceives ?) as well as 'teaching, revelation, faith, religion'. The connexion etymological as well as semantic between the Aryan and the Baltic forms of the word is discussed in greater detail later on (in Section X: 'The Baltic *daina* and the Indo-Aryan *dhēnā* in the Vedas').

As said before, these old songs were neglected until very recently. As a matter of fact, the Baltic peoples, as they found themselves deprived of their independence, were being crushed out within the millstones of their foreign rulers and aggressors like the Poles and the Germans, and latterly the Tsarist Russians. In both Latvia and Lithuania as well as in the contiguous Esthonia (which is inhabited by the non-Indo-European Esthonian people of Finno-Ugrian origin, who are related to the Finns), the masses were reduced to the position of serfs attached to the soil, and were no better than slaves. Education and culture and better conditions of life were only for the German and Polish landlords, for Christian priests and clergymen, and latterly for the Russian overlords. The sense of nationalism was almost crushed out—only there was an instinctive feel or

love for their own village ways among the masses of the illiterate villagers who still loved their traditional songs in their mother tongue and who would try to get some joy and respite from their sufferings in life through song and dance in the traditional way—the only way they knew. From the eighteenth century, through contact with the advanced scholarly mind of the Germans, the Poles and the Russians, the Baltic people of the upper strata of society began to feel attracted towards things of culture and spirit. Gradually a very small middle class among the Baltic Latvians and Lithuanians took its rise—with the small employees and managers of estates and with the men of the church, schoolmasters and so forth. Among them the love of their native culture became quite an elevating and a redeeming feature, and they felt attracted to this mass of oral literature, the inherent beauty and human quality of which would appear never to have lost their force with them.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, some Baltic intellectuals, mainly under the inspiration of the eighteenth century humanism of Germany, started making haphazard collections of these old songs and poems in Lithuanian. Liudvikas Rhesa (Rėsa) made a collection of 82 Lithuanian songs and published them with a German translation in the year 1825. This was the beginning of a great literary revivalistic movement. Before Rėsa (1776–1840) there was nothing done in this line with a deliberate scholarly intention—although one or two songs seem to have been written down in a haphazard manner—quite accidentally, one might say—by earlier writers. These little collections as small repositories began to conserve the national literature of the Balts, the oldest specimens of which survived the ravages of time in some likelihood, during 15 to 20 centuries, if not more. Small collections were thus

made by other Lithuanian enthusiasts after the initial work of Rėsa. There was among the Baltic peoples a movement for freedom—from the economic and political control of both the Polish and German landlords as well as the Russian rulers of the imperial Tsarist *régime*. It was only after the First World War that the Baltic States after about two decades became absolutely free. The Russians on the whole gave a better deal to the Baltic peoples, as compared with the Germans and the Poles. The Abolition of Serfdom initiated by the Tsar of Russia in 1861 was a humanistic measure which brought in a very great social revolution and which helped to rehabilitate the Latvians and Lithuanians as well as the Esthonians, in the face of the ruthless exploitation from which they were suffering. This emancipation of large masses of people, who were mainly agriculturists and only to a small extent a city proletariat, among the two Baltic nations, brought in a new atmosphere of hope and endeavour in improving their lot and in rediscovering their history and culture—in finding their very soul, so to say.

While the Lithuanians had started collecting and preserving the wealth of their national literature from 1825, an analogous movement on a much bigger scale began among the Latvians. The great name in this very important work—not only national, but also international—of collecting, classifying and printing, with variants, the current folk-literature of the Latvians, was that of Krišjānis Barons (1835–1923). Barons was a schoolmaster, and he also was connected with an aristocratic Russian family as one of its employees. He spent considerable amount of his time in Moscow. With the help of a university friend of his, Krišjānis Valdemārs, he started collecting Latvian folk-poetry. With single-minded devotion he carried on his

work from 1869 to his death in 1923. One of his great associates in this work was Henri Wissendorff, a Latvian scholar and man of means educated in St. Petersburg and Paris. His work was going on and he was able to enlist the sympathy of the Russian Royal Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (Leningrad). The net result of his work completed with the help of his associates was a huge collection known as *Latvju Dainas* or 'Latvian Songs' (*Latvju Dainas*: compiled by Krišjanis Barons and Henri Wissendorff: 6 vols.; Vol. I, Jelgava, 1894; Vols. II–VI, St. Petersburg, 1906–1915). The second edition was completed in 1923, and Barons saw the volumes a day before his death on 7th March, 1923. This collection has presented before the world a unique mass of folk-poetry consisting of 35,789 basic songs with 182,000 variants of these. This was a very remarkable advance when we consider that the first selection from these folk-ballads appeared in a grammar of the Latvian language as examples of Latvian usage in the year 1761. After that a German writer, Johann Herder, published some 11 of the Latvian songs in his book, *Alte Volkslieder*, in the year 1778. Then there were the three collections of folk-songs by two German writers, Friedrich Daniel Wahr and G. V. Bergmann, which appeared in 1807 and 1808, and gave 901 songs. Two other collections came out in 1868 and 1873 under the editorship of Buettner, which gave near about 3,000 songs. Subsequently the huge collection and edition of Barons was continued by other collectors, prominent among whom was P. Šmits, and this work of collecting has gone on down to our times. It is almost staggering to think that the total number of songs has now come up to over 77,500, with a huge paraphernalia of variants. This, of course, if we consider

the number of songs, goes far ahead of what was and is even now available in Lithuanian.

In other branches of folk-literature, too, the Latvian Balts specially show an astoundingly extensive *corpus* which has so far been collected. According to Professor Jāzeps Rudzitis (as indicated in a private communication), the various items of folk-literature gathered in the archives of the Institute for Language and Literature of Latvia in Riga come up to some 2,800,000 (two million and eight hundred thousand). These have been classified as follows: (1) Fairy Tales, 34,000; (2) Legends, 55,000; (3) Anecdotes, 30,000; (4) Folktales, 16,000; (5) Riddles, 529,000; (6) Proverbs, 290,000; besides (7) Folk-songs, 1,300,000 (one million three hundred thousand), including some 200,000 collected by Krišjanis Barons and his collaborators. This is indeed almost an unbelievable record for a population of less than 2½ million, but the record is one for many generations of song-making and folk-literature which have gone on unabated.

But one matter has to be noted. These Latvian folk-songs are mostly quite short in extent, consisting generally of not more than a single stanza of four lines, comparable in their extent and in their literary feel to the Japanese *Haiku* poems. But there are also longer poems frequently enough, of 6, 8, 12 or 20 lines, or even, in rare cases, of 100 lines. The Lithuanian poems or songs generally are much longer—they consist of stanzas of four lines and more, which run up to 5 or 8 or 10 stanzas generally. So herein there is a remarkable difference between the folk-poetry of the Lithuanian Balts and the Latvian Balts. There are poems which are of the nature of ballads or narrative poems in Lithuanian. But in Latvian, it is mostly these shorter poems, which, as said before, come up to over 77,500, and

they just evoke a particular scene or narration, memory or impression, sentiment or wish. There are of course plentiful cases of the same situation or sentiment being treated with slight variations in several poems, and if we take note of the types or *genres* of these songs or their subject-matter, this huge number could be reduced considerably. But the literary quality of these Latvian (and Lithuanian) poems is of a very high order. Frequently they remind one of verses from the Ṛg- and Atharva-vedas, as well as of Sanskrit *Spruche* poetry. The quiet romance and love of Nature flows through them, like brooks in a forest glade. Nothing gives a better idea of the essential simplicity and goodness as well as the poetic nature of the Balt mind than these exquisite expressions of their folk-spirit.

The Lithuanian people have, evidently through the inevitable emulation of their brothers, the Latvians, continued the work of gathering whatever was available of their ancient folk-literature from after the initial labours of Rėsa and others. The Institute for Language and Literature in the present-day Lithuanian Academy of Sciences at Vilnius some years ago projected a five-volume compilation of a fairly large selection of Lithuanian songs, poems and ballads. The Institute for Lithuanian Language and Literature has published an introductory volume on the folk-literature and folk-music of Lithuania, with selections of texts and notices of all the compilers who brought out the first collections—the *Lietuvių Tautosakos Rinktinė* (Vilna, 1954). Of the projected five volumes of selections of Lithuanian folk-poems (*dainas*), three have already been published (1962, 1964 and 1965). The extent, as said before, of the Lithuanian collection is not so vast as in the case of the Latvian. But

still the Lithuanian *corpus* of traditional songs and poems is by itself quite extensive.

There is quite a mass of historical and critical apparatus in Lithuanian on the folk-literature of the country, besides *corpora* of texts collected from the people, as much as in Latvian, and volumes of selections which are being brought by the Lithuanian Institute of Language and Literature mentioned above. The following works are specially to be noted: (i) the three volumes of *Lietuviskos Dainos* collected by Antanas Juška: of these the first came out from Kazan in Russia—Vols. I and II in 1880, and Vol. III in 1882, with the title *Lietuviskos Dainos Užtrasytos par Antana Juškeviče* (= Juška), reprinted from Kaunas, Lithuania, in 1954, also in three volumes. The reprint gives the text as printed in the first edition in the old spelling, with the same texts in present-day orthography on the page opposite, with appendices and musical notations at the end. In this collection we have 1,569 *dainas* in all; (ii) the two volumes of Lithuanian Wedding Songs—*Svotbines Dainos*, also collected by Antanas Juška (first published from St. Petersburg in 1883, second edition from Kaunas in Lithuania in 1955, the original collection of 1,100 *dainas* plus new *dainas* added by Jonas Juška, with appendices and musical notations); and (iii) *Sutartines*, three volumes of collection of *dainas* and musical records of instrumental music—1,820 songs and melodies, mostly from Northern Lithuania, made by Zenonas Slaviunas, Vilnius, 1958-1959: these relate to daily life, and agriculture mostly. (Antanas Juška lived from 1819 to 1880, and Jonas Juška from 1815 to 1888.)

These are not all. It is said that some 22,000 Lithuanian *dainas* are already in print, in books as well as in journals; and there are some 300,000 more—quite a huge number—

collected and preserved in records, in the Academy of Sciences of Lithuania, Section for Language and Literature, Vilnius, waiting to be selected, edited and published. A history of Lithuanian literature from the earliest times by some seven scholars is being published in Lithuanian from the Institute of Language and Literature, giving a full survey of the entire mass of literature in the language. Three out of the projected five volumes are already out (the third volume is in two parts), and Lithuanian literature during the Soviet period will come in the fifth volume.

The Baltic Sea peoples, the Indo-European Lithuanians and Latvians and the Finno-Ugrian Esthonians, are now within the Communist orbit of the U.S.S.R., and their active cultural life (as an expression of their social and economic progress) is now continuing within the atmosphere of Communism within the sphere of the U.S.S.R. The communistic *régime* has certainly brought in a very great improvement in the economic and social life of the working classes, and it has been accepted by the people. There is also being composed a mass of songs in both Latvian and Lithuanian of a communistic or socialistic character—the ideals of work and of the dignity of the labouring man are coming to the forefront in present-day Baltic poetry. There is also a glorification, in *dainas* following the traditional style, of the communistic way of life with its state factories and its collective farms and technical and scientific gadgets. As things of the new age, these are also being duly exalted in modern Baltic poetry. All this of course has its own special historical value, and these new *dainas* have to be considered in their own historical sequence or development. But the cultural importance, in both the Baltic national set-up and the international Indo-European background, of the old *dainas* remains as important as ever.

X

THE BALTIC *DAINA* AND THE INDO-ARYAN *DHĒNĀ* IN THE VEDAS: THE *DAINAS* AND THEIR PRIMITIVE INDO-EUROPEAN ATMOSPHERE

Lithuanian and Latvian literatures are the only survivals of the ancient Baltic forms of Indo-European. Although the languages appear to have been written down as late as the sixteenth century, the literary compositions in them, of course, go back much earlier. The Baltic Indo-European speech appears to have presented one single language right down to the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. It may, however, be as early as 1200 or even 1500 B.C. that Baltic separated from the other connected branches of Indo-European, like the Aryan or Indo-Iranian and the Slav. During the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D., the Balts themselves became divided into a number of tribes, speaking slightly divergent forms of the same common language; and yet, it seems likely, they still looked upon themselves as one people. Round about A.D. 1200 we find these special tribes of the Balts already noticed as being marked off from each other by dialectal variations. Thus we have to the North of the Daugava or Duna River the Latgala or Lettigallian people who formed the core of

the present-day Letts or Latvians. South of them were three small tribes who were known as Kuršas or Curonians, who lived on the coast of the Baltic Sea to the South of the Gulf of Riga in the area which also came later on to be known as Kurlany or Courland. To their East were the Semigallians or Ziemgala. Further to their East were the Sėla or Selonians. South of these three tribes were the Lithuanians proper along the valley of the river Neris and bounded in the South by the river Nemunas or Niemen. These Lithuanians were in the North of the river Neris in two big groups, the Lower Lithuanians and the Upper Lithuanians. Then to the South and East of the Lithuanians, extending from the Vistula River in the West (bordering on the land of the Celts and Germans in Central Europe) to the upper course of the river Narew in the East (touching the Slav areas), lived the various tribes of Prussians like the Kulmas, the Pamedė, the Lubava, the Pagudė, the Sasna, the Galinda, the Varmė, the Notanga, the Semba, the Skalva, the Nadruva, the Barta and the Suduva, known also as the Dainava or the Jotva. (*See* Marija Gimbutas, *The Balts*, London, 1963, Map at p. 23; also Map among Plates at the end of this work.) The three main sections of the Balts round which the lesser tribes gathered were the Latvians, the Lithuanians and the Prussians. The last have ceased to exist as a Baltic-speaking people, as they have been either destroyed by the Germans or merged among the German-speaking people of East Prussia. But their name still survives in the word *Prussia*. Within this area, roughly comparable to the present States of Latvia and Lithuania and also East Prussia, is now the final repository of Baltic Indo-Europeans. But at one time, as mentioned before, they had spread over a great part of what is now Central and Northern Russia. The names of

places and natural features like rivers show how these tracts were inhabited by Baltic speakers. The name of the river *Volga*, which is now so distinctly a Russian river, is really from the Baltic, the original Baltic name of the river was *Jilga*. But the eastern Baltic States have for at least the last 3,500 years been the own homeland of the Balts.

The Baltic language, with its different dialects, now hardly comprises five millions of people. This is quite a small number, compared with that spoken by many other peoples of the same Indo-European speech family. Yet the amount of Baltic literature and the tenacity with which the Baltic peoples have maintained their language are certainly astounding.

We are concerned here primarily with the *daina* literature preserving some of the traditional pre-Christian life and culture. The *dainas* in the first instance are popular folk-literature, which was handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth and not by writing. In this, they are at one with the Vedic hymns when these started to be collected from the tenth century B.C. by Krishṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, or 'Vēda-vyāsa', the 'Compiler of the Vedas'. The Veda hymns were just folk-poetry with the background of contemporary life behind it, as much as the *dainas* are. There are Veda hymns which deal with the gods and their deeds and dealings with men, the same as we have in quite a large number of *dainas*. The Vedic hymns, at least a large proportion of them, were considered to be compositions by inspired sages who had a touch of the divine spirit and who possessed the primeval wisdom of the gods and the ancestors. There were similar beliefs about poet-sages of divine wisdom among all other Indo-European peoples. Thus we have the **Vates** and **Flamenes** among the Latins; the **File** (**Filid** < I-E, ***wolyo-vid-**, Sanskrit **varya-vid-** 'he who knows the desirable thing for man') among the Celtic Old Irish; the ancient Indian poet, **Kavi**, was 'a Seer' (< ***skawi-**: German **schauen**), and he was also a **Ṛṣi** (*Rishi*), 'One who had a vision of Truth'; and the ancient Greek **Poiētēs** was the 'Maker' or 'Creator', who knew with the inspiration from the Muses 'how to utter true things'. This would refer to a more advanced age, when specialized functions brought about the establishment of special classes of people. In a primitive society, anyone who felt the impulse would compose a song, and there was no occasion for a special class of poets to function. The Balts appear to have kept up this primitive tradition of having poets who did not form a group or corporation by themselves, who possessed some special training or practice. And yet, their word for the traditional form of poetry, **daina**, suggests that this traditional poetry, connected with their daily life and avocations as well as the world of their gods, had some thing which was deeper than the ordinary way of life, and that such poetry came out of deep thinking or pondering.

The Baltic word **daina** had unquestionably its Aryan (Indo-Iranian) equivalent, etymologically and semantically which is perfectly permissible. It is strange how most of the authorities on Indo-European linguistics and culture have ignored this affiliation of the Baltic word **daina** (Lithuanian **dainà**, Latvian **daina**) to the Vedic **dhēnā** and the Avestan **daēnā**.

An Indo-European root ***dhi**, ***dhy-ei**, ***dhei**, meaning 'to think, to ponder over, to give thought to', appears to be the source of the Vedic **dhēnā** and Avestan **daēnā**. An Indo-European form ***dhainā** as the source-word can very

easily and quite correctly be postulated. There were certain easily understandable modifications in sense, in both Aryan and Baltic. Scholars like A. Walde and J. Pokorny, R. Trautmann and E. Fraenkel have ignored this etymology connecting Baltic **daina** with Vedic **dhēnā**, and other derivations have been suggested by them. Helmut Arntz is evidently in favour of this derivation (*see* p. 48 of his *Sprachliche Beziehugen zwischen Arisch und Balto-Slawisch*, Heidelberg, 1933). The equation **dhēnā** = **daēnā** = **dainà/daina** to my mind had been established in detail in both the aspects of phonology and semasiology in all their bearings as early as 1912, in Vol. 32 of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, pp. 393–413, by Samuel Grant Oliphant. Reference to this paper, which may be considered to be of fundamental importance, has been made by Arntz and others. It is not necessary to repeat Oliphant's thesis and his arguments. The meaning of the Vedic **dhēnā** has been fully established with a wealth of quotations, interpretations and references; and both according to the ancient and medieval Indian tradition and modern Vedic scholarship, it can only mean, according to the context, 'speech', 'voice', 'words', 'praise', 'prayer', 'songs of praise', 'song'. In Avestan, the cognate equivalent **daēnā** has undergone a fresh semantic development, and from the meaning of the root **da(y)**, which was the source of it, 'to perceive', 'to understand', 'to think out', it came to signify (i) 'the Inner Self' or 'the Higher Self of Man', and then (ii) 'Teaching, Faith, Revelation, Religion'. The Avestan or Old Iranian **daēnā** became in Middle Iranian (Pahlavi) **dēn** 'religion', and this was later borrowed into Arabic as **dīn**, and gave the Islamic word for 'religion', or 'faith', or 'the true faith of Islam'.

What Oliphant said in the peroration of his paper bears being quoted in the present context also, as a fitting ending:

> We consider *dhēnā* a gunated form from the root *dhī*, 'think', and a synonym of *dhīti* and *dhī*, with which words we have found it associated. As these words may pass in meaning from pure thought to its expression by the voice in prayer and psalm, so *dhēnā* regularly in the Veda is the outward form in which the inward thought is expressed by the voice. In the case of human beings, it is a song of joyous praise or holy invocation to the gods. In the case of gods, it is their gracious words, commending the worshipper and expressing their appreciation of the strength imparted to them by the songs, or their war-cries and battle-shouts as they engage in combat with their foes. The streams, too, sing their joy at their release and roar in praise of the great deity that effected it.
>
> *Dhēnā* is the exact phonetic equivalent to the Avestan *daēnā* and the Lithuanian *dainà*. The *daēnā* of the Avesta is (1) religion, especially the Ahuran religion, also (2) a theological-philosophical concept of the totality of the psychic and religious properties of man. It is the spiritual ego, the immortal part of man, the mental *logos*. Cf. Bartholomae, *W.B.*, *s.v.*
>
> The Lithuanian *dainà* is a folk-song, but these folk-songs contain the best and highest expressions of the native heart and mind. They are frequently the media of expressing their religious sentiments and their philosophical reflections. Their whole philosophy of life is enshrined in these songs which constitute their poetic literature. Here is expressed their thought about the great anonymous Dēvas, the moon-god and the sun-maiden, the morning and the evening stars, Perkūnas, the god of thunder, etc., beliefs which transport us back to the primal days of our race. Like the Sanskrit *dhēnā*, the Lithuanian *dainà* is a voiced *logos*, but unlike the former it frequently descends from the divine heights and becomes of the earth, earthy. Thus *dhēnā*, *daēnā* and *dainà* are all thought, but thought in its higher and spiritual reaches. Both phonetics and semantics proclaim them own sisters in the Old Indo-European family circle.

XI

THE BEAUTY AND POWER OF THE BALTIC *DAINAS* AS POETRY: SOME APPRAISEMENTS BY SPECIALISTS

About the literary character and the high poetic quality of the Baltic *Dainas*, it would be best to give the testimony (by quoting *in extenso* from them) of competent students and critics of these poems, both Lithuanian and Latvian, who were born and brought up within their *milieu*. The general atmosphere of the Indo-Aryan Vedic hymns as in both the Ṛg-veda and the Atharva-veda is quite well known, thanks to nearly 150 years of intensive study of these hymns by some of the most advanced scholars in the subject of Sanskrit and Vedic as well as European classical (Greek and Latin) and modern studies in Europe and America. But the exquisitely fresh and poetical character of the Baltic *Daina* literature is not so well known, particularly because this great and beautiful literature itself is not easily accessible to the world outside of the specialists in Baltic studies. I can do no better than quote some relevant observations from Lithuanian and Latvian exponents of their national literature of the *Dainas*.

I feel I should first give this very sympathetic appreciation of the simplicity and beauty of the *Dainas* from an

American critic, Robert Payne (in his *Foreword* to *The Green Linden, Selected Lithuanian Folk-songs*, Voyages Press, New York, 1964):

> The *dainos* of Lithuania are like those snowfields. They seem to have been sung from time immemorial, and they are still being sung. They owe their survival to their poetic power, and also to the very nature of the country which gave them birth, a country hemmed in by forests, swamps and seas, outside the main highways of European civilization. They represent a form of poetry as ancient as anything on this earth, for they are essentially spells, incantations, offerings to the gods. Though they are simple and immediately comprehensible, they do not belong to the world we know. There is about them something steady and direct like the eyes of animals. These poems to the gods show no fear, nor do they plead for mercy.
>
> These poems are never oblique; there are no *arrière-pensées*, no efforts to embroider outside the naked lyrical thrust; the songs sing themselves, and they ask only that they should be permitted to sing. One comes to them almost unbelieving, surprised that such perfect songs should be permitted to survive. They have a beauty and pure primitive splendour above anything I know in Western literature, except the early songs of the Greek islanders. They seem to have been written at the morning of the world, and the dew is still on them.
>
> The people who wrote and sang them are among the most enviable who ever lived. They had a deep instinctive feeling for the simplest of all things—for woods and running water, and girls' faces and the colours of the sky. They sang artlessly, but how much art there is in their artlessness! They sang with the full voice, conscious of their power to summon the gods at their bidding, conscious of their pride, their moral splendour. For them the world is washed clean by the heavenly rains, and neither guilt nor regret have worked on them.
>
> We are accustomed to believe that great poetry springs out of great and powerful civilizations; and we point to Hellas and the Spain of the *Conquistadors* and Elizabethan England—these countries were so powerful that they shook the world, and

something of their power entered their poetry. But poetry does not necessarily, or even very often, spring from imperial power... We do not know why the first Greek songs were sung on an obscure island of the Aegean, but they were; nor do we know why there was such a proliferation of song in Lithuania, so obscure a country that the histories of Europe pass it by in silence or with a brief mention of the Teutonic knights. But Lithuania, too, has its imperial tradition, as the Russians learned to their cost. Of that imperial tradition there is no sign in the *dainos*...

The Lithuanian poems share the same crisp, sensuous quality, but they speak of the sun with an exquisite friendliness and enjoyment, without ceremony. The sun and the poet speak to one another in terms of intimacy, enchanted with one another's presence. There are sexual overtones; in one poem the sun is masculine, in the other feminine, but essentially both poets are speaking of the same sun, because there is no other, and it is unthinkable that there should be any other. They see the sun which is created anew every morning, the everlasting day eternally revived for the pleasure and delight of those who bask in its splendour.

In our own age such simple joys are rare, and we are in danger of forgetting that there was a time when joy existed on the earth, when men could say: 'Many kinsmen have blessed me, and many are my treasures.' Our sun is an atomic pile menacing us with deadly radiations. Theirs was a face which peered down at them every morning and went away for a little while each night. So it is throughout the *dainos*: the world of nature shines with kindly face and with a quiet delight in human preoccupations. Man, far from being alienated, far from being mysteriously cut off from the sources of power, is the friend and lover of all creation.

This is why, in our desperate age, the *dainos* acquire a supreme importance, for they speak of a time when joy still walked over the earth.

Dr. Marija Gimbutas, a Lithuanian scholar now resident in America, with her authoritative knowledge of, and her great love for, the history, antiquities and culture as well as

the spiritual qualities of her own people (which, in the sincerely lyrical language in which they are frequently offered, cannot but attract her readers) has said in her *Introduction* to the same book :

The woman, reaping oats with a sickle, sang in full voice. This was 'a sacrifice to the gods', in the best meaning of the phrase—a personal, and collectively sanctioned, need. Even by the best singers in the world, the *daina* cannot be performed on a stage with equal feeling and power, because it cannot be separated from its environment. As the woman sang, the earth seemed to move and breathe hope, together with the *daina's* three-tone melody and simple rhythm.

In the *daina*, melody and words were created at the same moment, as a song; taken separately, the two elements lose much of their value. We search in vain for a fixed prosody in the verses; the words were adjusted to the melody, to special rhythms: to reaping, to plucking, to swinging, to weaving, to the flight of a bird, to a wedding dance, to a game . . .

The *daina* is manifold and many-layered. Some layers are old, some are recent, and some contain ancient elements fused with others from later historic periods. The *daina* was transmitted orally from generation to generation and was continually altered. Thus not one *daina* with a firmly-established text exists. Even the same person, on different days, may sing the same *daina* in somewhat different ways. Certain *dainos* in published collections have several variations. The elements most strongly fixed in Lithuanian songs are their mythological images, and others related to an archaic, patriarchal family life and to agricultural work.

Dainos are classified under ten headings: mythology, nature, love and courtship, singing and drinking, marriage, family life, orphans, work, war and laments. The contents make up the peasant's life, his observation of nature, his participation in the rotation of the seasons, his dependence on the blessed life-bringing natural forces and on the constantly threatening powers of evil and death. Much was sung of love and courtship, marriage, and the destiny of a married woman. This inevitable cycle of

human life is portrayed in the *dainos* as an intense drama, which begins with a young maiden thriving in her father's and mother's house, 'the white lily' whose youth and innocence are compared to the green rue (the wreath of rue is the symbol of chastity), continues with her dreams and expectation of meeting a lad, 'the white clover', coming on a bay steed, culminates in the wedding ceremony and the painful departure of the bride from her beloved mother, father, sisters and brothers; and ends with her unhappy life in an alien house, suffering from a mother-in-law and not infrequently from an unkind husband. A tone of resignation and fatalism replaces the mood of joyful days and the mother's tender love . . .

Echoes of stealing or buying a bride can still be found in the folk-lore. Another ancient feature, going back to the Indo-European common homeland, is horsemanship and an unusual love for horses. On horseback the lad comes to visit his maiden, on horseback the farmers and warriors and kings of early Lithuanian history rode to the world of the dead. The steed (*žirgas*) and not the work horse (*arklys*) appears in the songs. A fast bay steed is the dream and pride of youth. In the *dainos* even a simple village lad rides a gold-shod bay, with a silver bridle and gold-embroidered saddle—an indication of the importance of the horse and a reminiscence of the well-harnessed companion of warriors in days long past.

The *dainos* are predominantly lyrical; epic elements are few, being found in only a limited number of ballads. It seems that the Lithuanian epos slowly disappeared with the end of the imperial period of Lithuania, perhaps in about the sixteenth century. We can only surmise its existence from the many legends about acropolises, sunken castles, treasure hoards and their royal masters, and from a few songs that mention names of kings and warriors. The legends are petrified remnants of a remote past. The Lithuanian nobility was largely Slavonized between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The *daina* was abandoned by the courts, but it lived on in the villages, faithfully preserved by the poorest people of the country, guarded by the mother of the family, during the darkest period of Lithuanian history; the occupation by Tsarist Russia between 1795 and 1918.

The history of the past two centuries moulded the final shape of the *dainos*. Much that concerned the life of the upper classes was no doubt lost, especially since the *dainos* were not written down before the eighteenth century. Yet the shelter of the thatched roof did preserve a unique treasure: the *daina's* profound antiquity, simplicity, and subtlety, unspoiled by the world we know.

Marija Gimbutas also has stressed on the close relationship of the Baltic speeches with Vedic Sanskrit, and this relationship is also found in the Baltic and Aryan mythologies in all their archaism. In this connection, she observes:

The ancestors of all the Indo-European speakers in Europe came from the Eurasian prairies some time earlier than 2000 B.C. (as many archaeologists, ethnologists, and linguists, as well as the present author tend to believe). Thus their perception of nature and their concept of gods have Oriental correlates. Hence the similarity of Lithuanian mythology to the ancient Indic, Persian, Greek, Thracian, Old Germanic, Italic and Celtic.

The question naturally arises, why the Lithuanian language, mythology, and *daina* are replete with elements belonging to 'the morning of the world', which many other nations of the Indo-European family have long since lost? The answer seems to lie in the geographic and historic destiny of Lithuania. The Balts settled in the forested zone of north-eastern Europe. In the Bronze and Iron Ages their territories covered a large area from the Baltic Sea to present-day Central Russia—as archaeological finds and Baltic names for rivers indicate . . .

For millennia the ancestors of the Lithuanians were shielded from strong outside influences. Their homes were not on the cross-roads of migration of the Scythians, Celts and Germanic tribes. Thinly settled in the great expanses of a forested land with many rivers, lakes and swamps full of animals, fish, and birds, mushrooms, nuts, honey and berries, they felt no need to seek better land or pastures, as did the Goths and other Germanic tribes, or the Celts and the semi-nomadic Scythians.

Their ties with Mother Earth were strengthened even more with the gradual progress of agriculture during the last two millennia, as river-valley regions were cleared and turned into

arable land. The rich natural environment absorbed the Lithuanian soul, sustaining in it a profound veneration for the living land with its deciduous and coniferous trees and wild flowers, and an intimate relation with the animal world. The Lithuanians and their kin tribes did not lose their ability to see nature intensely, their vision, for all the creatures of the earth, was as acute as a hawk's. Hence the multitude of parallelisms of human life with that of nature in the *dainos*. Hence, too, the onomatopoeic sounds which imitate the trill of the nightingale, the call of the swallow, the hum of the bee, the rustling of forests, or rye fields, or the wind.

The Lithuanians were among the last of the Indo-European groups of Europe to which Christianity was introduced. Although Lithuania was officially Christianized in 1387, the villagers retained the old religion for many more centuries, since clergymen could not understand the native language and since Latin was meaningless to their rural parishioners. More success in converting the Lithuanians to Christianity was achieved during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth century, when the first catechisms appeared in Lithuanian; yet even then, and almost until the twentieth century, ancient beliefs and customs persisted. The popular religion slowly developed into a 'double faith', as Lithuanian folk-lore maintained its pagan foundations and remained faithful to its roots deep in prehistory. Hence the many mythological elements in the *dainos*. Lithuanian and Latvian folk-lore, alone in Europe, can boast a living ancient mythology with a number of names of pagan gods and other mythological images, comparable to pre-Olympian Greek, Roman, Vedic Indian, Persian and Old Scandinavian. Even the ancient Slavic gods are less well preserved; their names were replaced relatively early by those of Christian saints.

What Dr. Marija Gimbutas has said about 'the profound veneration for the living earth' among the Balts has its parallel among the Vedic Aryans. After their wanderings for centuries through mountains and steppes and unfertile plains in the Caucasian region, Northern Mesopotamia and

Iran, when the Aryans came into India and settled down in its wide riverain plains hedged in by temperate and sub-tropical woodlands and forests, they developed a similar love of Mother Earth, and this love found a most beautiful and a profound expression in scattered verses in the Veda, and particularly in that great poem extolling Earth in the Atharva-veda.

Writing about the poetic character and the unique literary set-up of the Latvian *Dainas*, Professor Ojars Kratins of Harvard University says (in his informative article, *An Unsung Hero: Krišjānis Barons and His Life-work in Latvian Folk-songs*, 'Western Folk-lore', Vol. XX, October 1961, No. 4, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles), with equal conviction and fervour and with a love for the subject which has its appeal for all:

> The origins of the *dainas* lie far back, but just how far is not easy to determine. Linguistic research has led to speculations that the metrical pattern of the songs must have become established by the eighth century, before the two Baltic languages of Latvian and Lithuanian had significantly diverted, but few songs survive from this period. Though there are *dainas* containing concrete references to ritualistic events (births, weddings, burials) as they were conducted as far in the past as the sixth century, an overwhelming amount of internal evidence points to the period between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries as 'the classical period of folk-songs in Latvia'. There are also external, historical reasons for supposing this. In the Catholic era there was no printing press and few literate people. The indigenous folk-culture was interfered with very little, and the Church 'with its cult of the Virgin and the saints was indulgent also towards the ancient pagan beliefs and customs, partly transforming only the conceptions of God and other deities'.
>
> These favourable conditions changed with the Reformation, the collapse of the Catholic Livonian Order and the advent of the humanists. Depending upon whether the writer was a

humanist or a Lutheran clergyman, he condemned the folk-songs and native customs as barbarous or heretical. Many in the witch-hunts of the seventeenth century did their best to put an end to this 'ungodly and foolish' singing. Wars, pestilences and serfdom further inhibited the native folk-culture. It is not surprising to find few specifically Protestant features in the *dainas*. Rare, too, are mentions of trees and crops that have become common in the last three centuries, even though some new songs were composed during this time and older ones adapted to new conditions.

The majority of the songs speak of great woods with bear, elk and bison—all of which disappeared long ago. Martens were so plentiful that caps made from their fur were common among men. Wild geese and swans nested on the riverbanks. The farmsteads were either next to rivers or deep in the woods, and people lived in separate dwellings—*istaba*—not, as in the times of serfdom, under one roof with the domestic animals.

In possibly the oldest songs extant three classes of native Latvians can be distinguished: *bajāri* or *labieši*, the aristocratic class; *saimnieki*, the independent freedmen farmers; and *kalpi* or *neļaudis*, the servants. In some cases serfs, the *kalpi*, appear to have come mostly from outside the realm of the legitimate family. A strong patriarchal order prevailed and women accorded a rather low position. They performed all the usual household chores—weaving, sowing, grinding grain, carrying water—and their position is symbolized by such acts as opening gates, unsaddling horses and removing men's shoes for them. A church wedding is seldom mentioned; by custom the bride was either bought or stolen.

The lack of a priestly class among the ancient Latvians and the interruption of the development of indigenous religious practices by the advent of Christianity in the thirteenth century are probably the main reasons for the absence of clearly definable myths. These same reasons complicate the dating of mythic songs, none of which can be assigned to a proper religious cult with any certainty. Etymologically and conceptually, the deities of the ancient Latvians are very close to the natural phenomena in which they originate. Although such mythical figures as *Dievs* or *debesstēvs* ('God, or Father of the Heavens'), *Pērkons* ('Thunder'), *Dieva dēli* ('Sons of God'), *Saules meitas* ('Daughters of the Sun') and others can be identified with deities found in Old Indo-European cult songs, it is difficult to separate their objective religious identities and functions from the poets' subjectively free use of them as poetic concepts. Nevertheless the native pagan tradition was sufficiently potent, so that the new Christian elements were often only superimposed in a distant layer. On the other hand, this tradition assimilated and transformed such figures as the saints Peter, John and Michael.

Beyond indications of the general condition of life during the times in which they originated, the *dainas* contain nothing chronologically or historically specific, but preserve 'only the ethical core of events and their poetic reflection, whereas time, place and names of heroes have faded from memory'.

One of the chief reasons for the lack of historical specificity is the poetic form of the songs. They consist usually of strictly regular trochaic or dactylic quatrains and are complete and self-sufficient within these small confines. There are also songs of some length, sequences of these quatrains, that have been preserved intact, but though they may contain the kernel of a narrative or a dramatic situation, they never attain to a sustained narrative or dramatic point of view as, for instance, do the Scottish border ballads. The *dainas* are basically lyrical utterances with the qualification that the 'I' figuring in them is not a unique human being, but a universalized *persona* representing the community and expressing the experiences common to everyone in it. For this reason a high level of artistic distance is maintained in the *dainas*; the experience depicted is never poignantly immediate, there is no room for sentimentality or indulgence in emotions . . .

A Latvian literary historian comments thus on the special quality of the *dainas*:

'The picture of community life given in the folk-song is extended beyond the confines of time and place into universality, as it were; thus it was possible for songs sung by Latvians in the thirteenth century to be handed down from generation to generation and to be sung on occasions similar to those that first

inspired them—to be sung, in fact, by Latvians in any century, be it the seventeenth, nineteenth, or any other.'

The oldest songs which were 'said' or chanted are clearly ritualistic survivals [cf. the Vedic word *sūkta* = 'well said, well spoken' which means a full hymn]. Their words are invariably single quatrains [we are to note that Vedic hymns are similarly composed of stanzas of four lines in different metres]... The other, much larger group of the *dainas*, musically speaking, is of more recent origin (approximately from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century) and manifests a more spontaneous, individualistic nature . . .

Each season of the year, each festival and activity had its own kinds of melodies and texts; of course the texts of some songs were such as to permit them to be sung on several diverse occasions. *Gavilēšana* (the closest literal translation would be 'shouting for joy') imitated the song of the lark and was used mostly during the early spring by the boys and girls tending the herds. During the calm and mellow evenings after the trees had put forth their new leaves young unmarried women gathered to sing in a way called *rotāšana*, a word applied also to the song of the nightingale. It called for two leaders, one with a deep, the other with a high voice, who embroidered inventive counterpoint upon the basic melody hummed by the rest of the chorus. *Līgošana*, so called after the frequently repeated word *līgo*, was the favourite mode of singing during the summer itself and is to this day practised on St. John's Eve or Midsummer's Night. There were various other ways of singing during the harvest time and the long evenings of winter. Many of the melodies and ways of singing were associated with rituals indicated in the *dainas*. At special occasions such as weddings and Midsummer's Night there was also a place for indecent or flitting songs that are a ceremonial remnant of the times of wife-stealing . . .

At each gathering for song the main person was the *teicēja* who either composed the songs or, most frequently, 'said' them from memory . . . Though there are songs by men about men's activities, singing as well as composition was largely a woman's craft, and a woman who could sing well had no lack of wooers . . .

The great volume of preserved *dainas*, reaching far back in time, presents a uniquely detailed and rich description of an old way of life. The poetic form of these songs, with its kinship to certain Vedic songs, reaches back yet further and constitutes one of the few extant examples of primitive quantitative poetry that, because of its conservativeness and abundance of examples, might help solve questions concerning the origins of quantitative metres in other literatures.

There might seem to be another reason, already mentioned, for the neglect of the *dainas*: this wealth of songs is in a language spoken by only two million people in the world . . . To this end the following words, written 30 years ago, well deserve repetition:

'Wherever the number of songs and variants is greater, there the researcher will find much richer material. Every Indo-European nation is a member of the great Indo-European family, and the Balts with their old and conservative language, their rich mythology and their peculiar primitive culture, should be especially interesting to the philologist. A thorough investigation of Latvian folk-songs should, therefore, throw new light not only upon the past of the Latvians, but also upon their sister nations.'

My great apology for making these somewhat long quotations is that I find the fulfilment of my own personal appreciation and love of the Baltic *Dainas* (from the little I have been enabled to know about them from a very limited reading, and that too with the help of English and French renderings) in the views and sentiments so finely expressed by these specialist scholars. Another reason is that outside people, particularly in India, should have some general idea about the nature and significance as well as the beauty and high poetic quality of a mass of literature which is so close to their own Veda.

From the appraisements of the *Dainas* of the Balts quoted above, it would be easy to appreciate their character and their significance in the domain of Indo-European as

well as world literature. The immediate comparison which will be provoked will be with the literature of the Vedic hymns, and with the Germanic Elder Edda. The Edda is after all a very short collection, although quite precious in its contents for the study of Primitive Indo-European culture and religion. The Vedic literature of hymns as in the Ṛg- and Atharva-vedas is quite an extensive one (leaving aside the still more extensive explanatory and exegetical later literature connected with the hymns), but it is much more varied, much more sophisticated and 'advanced' than the earlier *Daina* literature of pre-Christian content, although it retains a good number of hymns which have in a marvellous way preserved their pristine and Primitive Indo-European character, as much as the most characteristic *Dainas* in the same line. In passing, we may just note that the old *Dainas* of the Balts lack such a diverse poetical display as we see in the narrative and dramatic as well as descriptive and mystic hymns of the Vedas (some of which are quite elaborate and extensive) as the following, to mention a few at random: (*A*) From the Ṛg-veda—Agastya and Lōpāmudrā (I, 179); Battle Song and Arms and War-gear (VI, 75); Viśvāmitra and the Rivers (III, 33); Śacī, the Wife Triumphant (X, 159); the Word (*Vāk*) as Power (X, 125); the Rains (V, 83); the Frogs (VII, 103); the Gambler (X, 34); Yama and Yamī (X, 10); Saramā and the Paṇis (X, 108); Battle of Sudās (VII, 18); the Rivers (X, 75); the Spirit of the Forest (X, 146); the Long-haired 'Yōgī' (X, 136); Puruṣa or the Primeval Being (X, 90); Urvaśī and Purūravas (X, 95); the All-pervading Divinity (X, 121); the Origin of Things (X, 129); Vṛṣākapi (X, 86); the Funeral Hymns (X, 14, 16, 18); the Wedding Hymn (X, 85); the Aśvins and Ghōṣā (X, 40); Generosity (X, 117); (*B*) From the Atharva-veda—the Rains

(IV, 15); the Assembly (VII, 1); Mother Earth (XII, 1); Time (XIX, 53); the Student (XI, 5), etc., etc. And, **pròs dè tóde méga thaûma, hóou kléos oûpot' oleîtai**—'and there is the great wonder besides, and its renown shall never perish': these are the wonderful passages of power and beauty, describing the grandeur and glory, the sweetness and loveliness of the Vedic gods and goddesses, which are so common like gems scattered throughout the Vedas: celebrating gods and goddesses like Indra and Śacī, Sūrya and Uṣas, Varuṇa and Aditi, Agni and Sōma, Rudra and the Maruts, Viṣṇu and Sarasvatī, Dyauṣ and Pṛthivī, the Aśvins and Pūṣaṇ and Parjanya, and the rest. In addition, scattered through the Vedas are also isolated passages of profound spiritual import, giving words of wisdom which have a universal and a permanent application for the worldly life of man and his aspiration for realizing the Unseen Truth behind life, which still make the Vedas a source of inspiration, not only for India and the Hindus, but also for the whole world wherever there is a yearning for things that are not ephemeral.* These are the great concepts of **Ṛta**, 'the Way, the Law, the Eternal Order', of **Satya** 'the Truth', of **Dharma** 'the Holder of

* For strikingly illuminating introductions to the Indian Vedas from the above aspects, see the *Call of the Vedas* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 2nd edition, 1961), and *Hymns from the Vedas* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1966), both by Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose. All great thinkers of India in ancient, medieval and modern times have stressed upon the Vedas—their deeper message and spirit, the *Vēdānta* or 'the End of the Vedas' **(Vēdasya antaḥ = 'Wit's end')** —as forming the basis of Brahmanical or Hindu philosophy and religion—e.g. recent thinkers and writers like Swami Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. The Spirit of the Vedas as in the Vedanta is now acting as a potent leaven in the higher religious thought in the world in all the five continents.

All', leading to **Brahman** 'the Spirit, the Supreme Reality', which form the background of the Vedic hymns, and lift it high above all mundane poetry. The source of all this wisdom is, in some of its fundamentals, the wisdom of the Indo-European wise men when they lifted their hearts and raised their hands for the Highest Wisdom. It is also largely the result of the experience of centuries among the ancestors of the Indian Aryans while they were on their trek to India from their primitive homeland in the plains of Eurasia and when they had come in contact with other peoples—the Urartians, the Asianics, the Assyrio-Babylonians, the Sumerians of South Babylon, the Elamites and the Dravidians and Austrics (Kōls or Muṇḍās) as well as the Mongoloids in India. We have to note that there is a distance of some 2,000 years between the Vedic hymns (first compiled in the tenth century B.C.) and the oldest *Dainas* extant (*c.* tenth century A.D., and later). But, at this ancient date, the Vedic Aryans in their passage from the Eurasian plains in Russia, through the Caucasus into Iran and then into India, had international commingling which enabled them to develop their culture on both material and ideological sides, and this was quite in contrast with the simple and primitive world of the isolated and stay-at-home Balts. The settlement of the Aryans in India among peoples of different race, language and culture also brought in a composite and complicated civilization—of course the tempo of advance of this new civilization went on increasing after the age of the Vedic hymns—the like of which could never originate among the Balts who were fully preserved from racial and cultural miscegenation.

Nevertheless, one would be quite justified in saying that the Vedic hymns (**Sūktas** = 'well-spoken verses') and the Baltic **Dainas** are two masses of kindred literature which are complementary to each other. Vyāsa, or Vēda-vyāsa, who was actually a person who was a quadroon or three-fourths non-Aryan (his mother, Matsyagandhā Satyavatī, and his father, Parāśara's mother Adṛśyantī, were both non-Aryan—the first was Austric—Muṇḍā or Kōl—and the latter probably Dravidian), can also be described as the first great sage and thinker, historian and social organizer, among the Aryan speakers of Ancient India, at the end of the Vedic Age (tenth century B.C.). It was a unique service that Vyāsa did for the Indian and Aryan (and for the matter of that, for the entire Indo-European world) three thousand years ago, by collecting and compiling in the four Veda books the hymns and songs, religious and otherwise, and ritualistic lore from the priests of the Aryans which existed as a mass of floating oral literature. Another great service of inestimable historical and cultural value which Vyāsa did was by setting the example of gathering in compilations (known as the **Purāṇas**) the traditional mythological and historical stories which were current among the Aryan speakers of North India (of both pure and mixed origin) in his day; and further, by composing the saga of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas (who were his younger contemporaries) which was elaborated in the subsequent centuries as the National Epic of India, the **Mahābhārata**. Something in a similar way was done for the Baltic world by the great Latvian and Lithuanian collectors of folk-poetry and folk-literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by men like Barons, and Rėsa and Juška, and their collaborators and followers in this work. The resultant *corpus* of the Baltic folk-poetry—particularly the **Dainas**—can thus be described in their *ensemble* as a veritable Veda for the Balts—a **Veda-samhita Baltica**, or **Bhaṭikī Vēda-saṃhitā**.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI

Sanskrit Verses on the Vedic *Sūktas* and the Baltic *Dainas*

Veda-Samhita Baltica

(Bhaṭikī Vēda-saṃhitā)

abhūc Chrutiḥ pra-Vāidikī mūlÂrya-vāṅmayī purā /
'dhēnā'-'gāthā'-śritā vidyā dēva-mānava-dhāriṇī //
Uttarasyāṃ śrutir yâsīt pitṛbhir nas suṣēvitā //1//

There was the pre-Vedic traditional Lore in former times, composed in the Original Aryan (= Indo-European) Speech, a wisdom enshrined in the *Dhēnās* and in the *Gāthās* (*Dainas* and *Giesmas*) which comprised both Gods and Men: it was the Lore which was preserved with care by our Fathers in the Northern Regions (1).

ādyāyām tatra vāi Śrutāv Ārya-jana-prasārataḥ /
dēśē dēśē navīnañ ca rūpam bahu samāgatam //
vilōpaśca kvacit kvacid dṛśyatē'sya Śrutēr api //2//

In that original Lore, through the spread of the Aryan people, in different lands, many new forms of it came up; and in some places entire loss of this Lore is also found (2).

Bhāratasy-Ârya-kṛṣṭiṣu Śrutēs sampūrṇatā gatā /
'Vēda'-rūpā manuṣyāṇaṃ viśvēṣām maṅgalâvahā //3//

Among the Aryan peoples of India the completion of this Lore was attained, in the shape of the Vedas, which brings good to all human beings (3).

'Iṣṭir' nāmêti Pārasyē mantra-pāṭhaḥ suviśrutaḥ /
mūla-Śrutēḥ kathañcit tu tatrâsti nūtanaṃ rūpam //4//

Quite well known in Persia are the texts about the Gods known as *Iṣṭis* (*Yašts*); and there is in them somewhat of a new form of the original Primitive Lore (4).

'Saryāṇām' Ārya-jā-nāṃ hi kaviṣu satya-darśiṣu /
ṛtañca sundarañ câpi Śrutivan nihitaṃ sadā //5//

Among the Sarya or Saryāṇa People (= the Greeks, Hellas, Hellēnes < Indo-European ***Selyo- *Selyēnes** 'the Wandering or Dancing People'), among their Poets with true vision—Truth and Beauty like the Ancient Lore are established for all time (5).

Rōmakāś ca sa-bāndhavā dhṛtavantaś Śrutim parām /
tathâivânyē janāḥ pratnā Ārya-gōtrôdbhavāśca tē //6//

The Romans, with the peoples related to them, also received this Great Lore; besides other ancient peoples born within the Aryan family (6).

'Caṭās' 'Tōtāś'-ca bhū-khaṇḍē paścimē pracaranti yē /
'Śravaskāś'-ca suvīrās tē vasanti Tōta-sannidhāu //7//

The Celts and the Teutons who move about in the Western World, and the Slavs, strong heroes who live beside the Teutons (7).

(**Celt-** < I.E. ***qelto-**, ***q^welto-**, **√*qel**, **q^wel** = Skt. **√car**, **cal**: 'the Wandering People' = Sanskrit **Caṭa**; **Teuton—Teut-**, Indo-European ***teuto-**, ***touto-**, from ***√teu, tu** 'to be strong', whence Germanic ***þeuða**, ***þiuda**, Old English, **þēod**, High German **diot**, Latinized into **Teuto-**; Baltic **tauta**; Italic (Oscan) **touto-**; Old Irish **tuath**. The Sanskrit equivalent would be ***tauta-** > **tōta-**, found in the name of a deity, a form of Devi, **Tōtilā** 'She of the Strong

People', or 'the Strong Goddess' (?); Slav, **Slav-isk-** < Indo-European ***klewos**, Sanskrit **śravas** 'glory'.)

'Bhṛgavaḥ', 'Patayaś' cânyay — 'Ṛṣīkâ'-dyÂrya-jā janāḥ /
tēṣām madhyē Śrutiś câdyā — laghu-rūpēṇa saṃsthitā //8//

The Phrygians, and the Haikh People (Armenians), the Rishikas (the Kuchean or Tokharian People) and other nations born of the Aryans—among them, too, the Original Aryan Lore was retained in small measures (8).

(**Bhṛgavas** < **Bhṛgu-** = **Phruges**, **Bruges** = Phrygian; Sanskrit **Pati** = Armenian **Hai**, 'the Dominant People', national name of the Armenians; **Ṛṣīka** = **Arsik**, '**Arsak**' —one of the ancient Central Asian peoples, the Tokharians.)

srōtas tasyāh Śrutēḥ pratnam — Ārya-jā 'Bhaṭa'-samjñitāḥ /
saṃrakṣanty adhunâpi tē — pratna-nūtna-vimiśritam //9//

The people known as the **Bhaṭas** (= Balts), born of the Aryans (= Indo-Europeans), have even to this day preserved the old stream of the Lore, though the old and new are mixed up (9).

(**Bhaṭa**, the Sanskrit equivalent of Indo-European ***bhaltos**, ***bhḷtos**, whence Baltic **baltas** as in Lithuanian = 'white', Latvian **balts**, supposedly the source of the name **Balt** = (?) 'the People of the White Snow-lands'.)

pra-Vāidikasya dharmasya — kāla-pravāha-cālitam /
ādimaṃ sahajaṃ rūpaṃ — kiñcit tēṣûpalabhyatē //
'Dhēnê'-ti viditē lōkē — bahu-sūkta-sahasrakē //10//

The pristine, natural form of the pre-Vedic religion, moving along with the flow of time, is still to some extent

found among them (the Balts), in their thousands of ancient verses known in the world as the *Dainas* (10).

sarvē 'Vēdāḥ' ṛṣi-prōktā — Bhāratasya sanātanāḥ /
'Dhēnāś'-cĀrya-Bhaṭānām — pūrayantu parasparam //11//

All the ancient Vedas of India, announced by the Rishis or Sages, as well as the *Dainas* of the Aryan (Indo-European) Balts—may these be complementary to each other (11).

Saṃhitē dvē virājatām — Bhāratasya Śrutis sadā /
Bhaṭa-janasya vāi tadvat — Bhaṭikī Vēda-saṃhitā //12//

The two Masses of Poetry may ever continue in their glory—the *Śruti* or Vedic Lore of India, and in the same way the *Veda-samhita Baltica* of the Baltic people (12).

XII

BALTIC LIFE AND CULTURE, *VIS-À-VIS* THAT OF THE VEDIC ARYANS AND OF INDIA

The study with the help of actual remains of the material culture of the Latvians and the Lithuanians, and their common Baltic and Indo-European ancestors in those aspects of this culture where there has been an unbroken continuance of the ancient character of it, would be most interesting; and it would easily call for comparison with what we have in the Vedic world, as noted in Vedic literature, and in such meagre remains of material culture of the Vedic period as have been made available by archaeology.

The Primitive Indo-European economy was a combination of the pastoral (cattle and sheep-raising, horse-breeding and herding pigs) and the agricultural (growing crops of barley and rye, and also some fruits and vegetables, and plants like the hemp). This was continued by the Aryans (particularly in India), by the Hellenes, and by the Italians, who added some new cereals like wheat in the Near East and Italy and rice in India. Agriculture appears to have been fully attended to by the Balts. The earliest reference that we have to the Balts is in the Roman historian, Tacitus, whose Latin work *Germania* was written towards the end

of the first century A.D. Tacitus has given a full account of the Germanic and other peoples of Central, Northern and Eastern Europe, and he has mentioned (Section 45 of his work) the *Aestii* people, who can only be Balts. This was the name by which the Balts were known also to the Germanic English of the tenth century A.D., as in Wulfstan's account of his visit to the Baltic country; and this old name for the Balts was later on extended to the Finno-Ugrian neighbours of the Balts living to their North—the people now known as the Esths or Esthonians (Estonians). According to the evidence of Tacitus, the Balts had already made a name as agriculturists. Tacitus says that the Aestii (the Balts) were like the Germanic tribe of the Suebi in their customs and dress, but spoke a different language, which Tacitus erroneously thought was like the language of Britain (a Celtic speech in his time). The Aestii had a great faith in their great deity, the Mother of the Gods, and they thought that if they had with them the figure of a wild boar, which was a symbol sacred to the Goddess, they would obtain protection in battle; and this would set their mind at rest even in the midst of foes. The Aestii used swords rarely, and clubs frequently. Then this observation of Tacitus is noteworthy: 'Grain and other products of the earth they cultivate with a patience out of keeping with the lethargy customary to Germans: nay, they ransack the sea also, and are the only people who gather in the shallows and on the shore itself the *amber*, which they call in their tongue *glaesum*.'

The interesting thing is that 2,000 years ago the Balts were commended upon as capable farmers as well as fishermen in the sea. This was particularly in contrast with the Germanic people. Moreover, the Balts had, through that very special product of their country, amber (which came

to be known to outsiders as *Baltic Gold*), come before the civilized world of Greece and Rome, although as a remote and barbarian people. Tacitus observes that the Balts used amber and bartered it with the merchants from the Southern lands as objects of value like gems and semi-precious stones, but they did not have any idea about what amber really was, and Tacitus has given the correct account of the nature of amber as the fossil resin from coniferous trees. The Latin name *succinum* (from *soccus* 'gum') testifies to this. (The name for amber in the old Baltic language as given by Tacitus, *glaesum*, is no longer current in either Latvian or Lithuanian, and the modern names are **ģintaras** in Lithuanian and **dzintars** in Latvian. This lost Baltic word, as noted in Latin, may very well have come from an Indo-European root ***ģel** or ***ģḷ** 'to be bright, to be clear, to be yellow', extended to a base ***ģlai-s-**; and this root we find in another extended form in Germanic, ***klai-ni-**, giving Old English **clæne** 'open, clear, pure', Old High German **kleini** or **chleini** 'shining, neat, careful, small,' Modern English **clean** and German **klein**. Incidentally, we may note that the Greek word for amber, **ēlektron**, means also 'an amalgam of gold and silver as an alloy', used in coins and in jewellery, and this suggests that the brightness and colour of amber were considered—**ēlektron** < ***e-elek-tro-n** has been connected by Liddell and Scott with Sanskrit **arkas** 'Sun', **arcis** 'splendour, flame, ray', from root **arc** 'to shine, to praise', whence also Sanskrit **ṛk (ṛc)** 'Vedic verse', **arcā** 'praise', etc., the Indo-European source being a root ***elq-**: the Greek word for amber, a typical product of the land of the Balts, has given the international words, *electric, electricity*, etc., as amber when rubbed was found to produce negative electricity.)

The ancient Baltic village as in Lithuania and in Latvia was more or less a compact construction, the dwelling houses being close to each other and the arable fields outside the village, away from the dwellings of men. There used to be wherever necessary a little stockaded fort with dwellings in it, if there was a ruler of any high standing who was living close to the village. The houses generally were rectangular in plan and they were made of wood and wattle and had gabled roofs. In the centre of the house was the main hall, which was the common living room, flanked by little rooms or shelves for the members of the family to sleep, and there was in this hall the fireplace or hearth. This pattern was also found among the Germanic and Celtic tribes as well as among those of Italy and of Greece. But the rectangular type of hut of timber and thatch appears to have been abandoned partly in Italy and also in India, and newer kinds of building material in a warmer climate gave rise to the bamboo hut of ancient India which was more or less modelled on the pre-Aryan huts of India. The dwellings of an imposing size, which belonged to the rich people, were made of heavy timber, among the Indian Aryans as much among the European Balts. These had private rooms for the master and the lady of the house, and a separate room or hall for the younger women of the family as a drawing-room or working room (for spinning and weaving, and for singing and dancing). There was generally also a separate hut which was used as a lying-in-room, whenever there would be a birth in the family. This custom also obtained among the Aryans in India, and it has been carried down to our times. (The lying-in-room was known in Sanskrit as the **antaḥ-kuṭī** or 'inner hut', whence we have the Old Bengali **āntauḍi**, Modern Bengali **ā̃tuḍ**. It was also known in

Sanskrit as **sūtikā-gṛha**.) Attached to the house were the stalls or stables for the horses and biers for the cattle, and folds for the sheep and sties for the pigs. In India the place for the cows, the sheep and horses were also attached to the house, and a cow-shed with milch-kine, and stable for plough-oxen formed a very distinctive and a necessary appurtenance to the residence of a rich man or a farmer both in India and in Baltic lands. But pig-keeping fell out of use among the Aryans in India as much as in Iran, although it continued among the Germanic and Celtic peoples, and in Greece as well as in Italy. Possibly the Aryans through contact with the peoples of the Near East like the Semites abandoned pig-keeping. There was a refuse-heap close to the house, and we have that custom continued right down to our times—only it is regularly cleaned (**saṃ-kṛta = saṅkaṭa**, **saṅkaṭika**, **saṅkaḍia**: New Indo-Aryan **sãkaḍi, sakḍi** = 'refuse-heap, refuse'). The general lay of the village and the houses seem to have continued in Vedic India. But a close study of the conditions pertaining to houses and villages as given in the Vedic texts should be compared with what we see actually among the Baltic peoples.

The Primitive Indo-Europeans and their Baltic and other descendants in Europe used to keep bees for honey which was their only equivalent for sugar. In India the Aryans did not continue to keep bees and apiculture was virtually abandoned, and they took to having wild honey. But the Indian Aryans had instead of honey the sugarcane, which gave them sugar, a unique product of India.

In the matter of wearing apparel and dress, there has been a fundamental change among the Indo-European settlers who went down to the warmer regions of the south from the cold or temperate northern lands where they had

developed their material culture. Complete covering of the body for the greater part of the year was imperatively necessary in North and Central Europe with clothes from such materials as were available—skins of animals, cloth from bark of trees, and woven cloth from the thread spun from flax and wool, and also fur and felt. The feet had to be fully covered for protection against cold, and for men employed in active work and in fighting, trousers or breeches became established quite early, with leggings of thongs (like the modern Indian military *puttees*, though not so closely wrapped) and shoes of some sort, not mere sandals which leave exposed the toes and considerable parts of the foot but some kind of shoes or boots made of leather or birch-bark and tied with strings or thongs. A cap or head-dress also was there as a protection from cold. There are memories in India of this old style of dress in a few words in Sanskrit (e.g. **upānah** = 'shoes or sandals', **vadhrī** = 'leather strap', **śiras-trāṇa** = 'head protection', etc.). A warm cloak of skin or fur or woollen cloth was also a necessary adjunct in the old Indo-European costume. These cloaks were held in position by means of knots in the most primitive style, and then very widely by means of safety-pins or clasps (Latin **fibulae**). The basic type of this Northern European dress, as it was in use among the Primitive Indo-Europeans, was found among the Ancient Celtic and Germanic peoples, and also among the Slavs and the Balts, right down to the end of the first millennium after Christ. The Baltic version or modification of the Primitive Indo-European dress as it was a thousand years ago has been sought to be reconstructed by archaeologists and artists of Latvia and Lithuania on the basis of actual specimens from antiquity. A typical reconstruction of Indo-European dress in the Middle Bronze Age

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(second millennium B.C.) has been given in a coloured Plate in Vol. II of J. A. Hammerton's *Universal History of the World*, London, opposite page 828, which has been reproduced in the present monograph among the Plates at the end. Some of the authoritative representations of old Baltic dress of a thousand years ago have also been given in the Plates. In the warmer climate of Iran and India, the old Indo-European dress became considerably modified. The sewn coat or tunic as well as breeches fell into disuse among the Aryans in India, and although linen was used, and deer-skin and some kind of bark cloth were commonly worn by the Brahman priests of the Indian Aryans, the dress which became quite the universal one was a very light one. Cloth from cotton, which was one of the great products of India, was most commonly in use. Various kinds of linen were also in common use, and later on silk came to be adopted from the Mongoloid hill peoples of the North. Three pieces of unsewn cloth, one to wrap round the waist down to the knee (or sometimes to the heels), the prototype of the present-day Indian *dhoti*, the second one to be used as a cloak or wrap round the body, and the third piece to be wound round the head as a turban, formed the basic dress of the Indian Aryans. The women also wore a piece of unsewn cloth from the waist down the heels (or higher up) generally with pleats in front, and held by a girdle (**mēkhalā**) which became a most important item of a woman's costume, and there was another piece of unsewn cloth as a robe covering the upper part of the body. The hair was worn long both for men and women, and while there were various styles of hair-do for women, the men either left their hair loose above their shoulders bound up with a fillet, or wore it as a top-knot. Underwear of unsewn cloth also was common. The upper garment

was worn by women in affected *négligé*, and the breasts were commonly exposed, as among the pre-Aryan peoples of India, as a concession to climate and to a common local or popular practice. But in ceremonial matters, and in performing religious ritual, the breasts would be covered either with the upper garment or with a narrow breast-cloth which was tied at the back. The upper garment also formed a wimple covering the head for brides and matrons, as among the Iranian Aryans and the Greeks.

Sandals were also in use. From the earliest sculpture of India as in Buddha Gaya, Bharhut and Sanchi, in Bhuvanesvara, in Karla and Bhaja, in Mathura and in Gandhara, and in Amaravati and Nagarjuni-konda, and from descriptions in early literature, some idea of the ancient Indo-Aryan dress as it was in vogue some 2,000 to 2,500 years ago (or even earlier) can be formed. Illustrations of such reconstructions of ancient Indo-Aryan dress (drawn by the sculptor Sunil Pal) are given in the Plates. For the Iranian Aryans, we have very faithful representations of their dress in the Achaemenian sculptures and tapestry fragments from the sixth century B.C. The Persian Aryans developed the habit of wearing loose garments resembling the Indian ones, as we can see from the ancient sculpture; but the Median Aryans, as living in the colder hilly regions, preserved, like their kinsmen the Scythians, the older Indo-European style of wearing breeches and high boots. Copies of pictures of ancient Iranian dress from a recent authoritative work in Persian are given in the Plates (The *Pūšāk-i-Bāstānī-i-Īrānīān* or 'Old Costumes of the Iranians' by Jalīl Zīā-pūr, Tehran, Persian Year 1343). The Greek preference for a simple dress with sheets of plain cloth without sewn garments (e.g. among the Dorian Spartans and the Attic Athenians) was to be found equally among the

Indian Aryans in their two pieces of *dhōtra* and *uttarīya* (the lower garment and the cloak) for men and similarly two pieces of unsewn cloth for the women with the lower garment with pleats in front. This brought the ancient Aryan dress in India very close to the classical Greek dress with the *himation* for men and the Doric *peplos* for women.

In India, owing to the economic prosperity of an agricultural community, and to the availability within the country of gold and precious and semi-precious stones of all kinds, besides bright shells of different types, there developed early from Vedic times a fondness for jewellery of all sorts—necklaces, armlets, bracelets, chains, girdles, and rings, and anklets (sometimes very heavy ones) for women. Heavy ear-rings were common, but there was no nose-ring, unlike among some Semitic peoples. This use of jewellery was a noticeable thing in ancient Aryan and other Indian costume. Besides, there was a very great taste among Indian Aryans in floral decoration—chaplets and garlands and other ornaments of scented flowers were used by both men and women on all ceremonial and festive occasions.

The Balts were great experts in metal work, in gold and silver, copper and bronze, and they also knew the art of enamelling in metal. They developed an almost similar fondness for decorating themselves with metal jewellery, and with amber, a special product of their own country.

The Indo-European practice of wearing a beard was continued among the Aryans of Iran and India, but later, as among the Greeks from the time of Alexander the Great, and the Romans, the Indian Aryans began to be clean-shaven in the face, and often in the head, with a tuft of hair at the crown of the head. We have here the influence of Buddhist monasticism as well as pre-Aryan usage. The warriors and

other classes wore moustaches, with or without beards or whiskers. Men in ancient Mesopotamia wore long beards but shaved their moustaches or clipped them, but this practice was never followed by the Aryans. In later times, among Balts we have beards with shaving of moustaches, as in pictures of their Gods, but how and when this custom was adopted we do not know.

The Primitive Indo-European culture in a way can be described as a *horse culture*, and the use of horses for riding as well as for drawing chariots and carts was an Indo-European inheritance which was vigorously continued by the Aryans in Iran, as well as in India. Horse-racing was a popular pastime with the Indian Aryans as with the Balts and the Greeks.

It would appear that horses were killed for food among the Primitive Indo-Europeans as among their Altaic neighbours, the ancestors of the Mongols and the Turks. But very early the various Indo-European peoples gave up eating the horse, but among the Indian Aryans the custom of killing the horse for its meat seems to have survived in their religious cult of the horse-sacrifice (**aśva-mēdha**), which was rarely practised, but nevertheless it was a feature of the religious ceremonial only among the Aryan royalty in India.

Another noteworthy matter in the culture of the Aryans both in Iran and India was the use of chariots. Horses carried riders, and they were also made to draw chariots, which were two-wheeled light vehicles to which two horses were yoked side by side, and sometimes four, also abreast. The body of the chariot carried two persons generally, the rider and the driver, both standing—in India there was also a seat (**gartta**) for the rider. Wagons were known to the Primitive Indo-Europeans, but we do not know what kind of vehicles these were. Probably they were four-wheeled

carts, sometimes covered, to carry domestic articles as well as women and children. The use of a word for 'the wheel' in Primitive Indo-European is attested from all Indo-European languages (e.g. Skt. **ratha** 'chariot, wheeled vehicle', Iranian **ratha**, Lithuanian **ratas**, Germanic **rad**, Latin **rota**, Old Irish **ruoth**), so that the horses were made to draw a wheeled cart or wagon, and not a mere sledge. In the forest-lands of the Baltic area, and also in Germany with its deep forests, as well as in the lands dwelt in by the Slavs, chariots did not have much scope, particularly in warfare. But in the lands of the South, where four-wheeled heavy carts came into use very early, carts drawn by donkeys, the two-wheeled light chariot for swift locomotion in war appears to have come into vogue by 2000 B.C. They were found in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, and the use of this kind of vehicle also spread east into India through Iran, and west into Greece and Rome, and even further to the North-west in France and Britain as well as in far-away Ireland, among the Celtic tribes. Two- or four-horsed chariots of a big size also came in vogue among the ancient Chinese from Chou times. Chariot-riding warriors were characteristic of ancient India—the **Mahābhārata** as the national epic of ancient India is full of charioteers and fighters in chariots, as much as in ancient Greece and in the Celtic world of the Gauls, the British and the Irish. Herein was a noteworthy point of difference between the Balts and the Aryans. The Gods of the Balts as much as those of the Aryans rode on horses but also drove in wheeled vehicles, but the types of the vehicles were different—the two-wheeled chariot of Ancient Near-eastern and Classical times drawn by two or four horses yoked abreast probably was not much in use in the Baltic world. An account of the Aryan chariot

(with a detailed reconstruction of the Vedic Indian chariot shown in a useful drawing) will be found in Professor Stuart Piggott's *Pre-historic India*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1956, pp. 276–282.

In addition to swift war-chariots drawn by horses (and mules also), the Aryans made quite an extensive use of the ox and ox-carts for vehicular transport. In fact the ox-wagon became quite the rule in Aryan domestic life. The bride went to her husband's home in a wagon drawn by bullocks which was driven by the bridegroom ; and pack oxen were largely used to carry goods throughout the entire country when there were no good roads. Further, the horse continued to be used to draw the plough in the northern lands of the Indo-Europeans—among the Balts, Slavs, Celts and Teutons. But in the South, among the Greeks and the Aryans of both Iran and India, as well as in Italy, oxen were employed for agriculture, possibly following the Mesopotamian peoples.

The Aryans became familiar with the camel in Mesopotamia and Iran, and also in the drier and desert areas of India, where the camel—the one-humped dromedary—and the donkey were much in evidence. The two-humped Bactrian or Central Asian camel (**dvi-kakud**) was known in India, in the north-western regions, but was rather uncommon. The water-buffalo, which is now so common in India as a milch as well as a draught animal, appears not to have been such an intimate domesticated animal among the early Aryans.

Horses and chariots and oxen and bullock carts apart, the Aryans in India quite early acquired from the pre-Aryan peoples, another means of locomotion, which became the most characteristic one for India for over 3,000 years right

down to the present day, viz. the Elephant. The Aryans at first regarded the elephant which was new and strange for them with awe: it was 'an animal with the hand' (**mṛgaḥ hastin** or **karin**), a wonderful creature to start with. But it was already tamed by pre-Aryan peoples—the Austrics were probably the first people to have domesticated the elephant and then the Dravidians. The commonest Sanskrit word for the animal was **hastin**, 'the animal with the hand' whence New Indo-Aryan **hāthī**, **hātī**, etc., but there are many other words which are of non-Aryan origin like **gaja**, **nāga**, **mātaṅga**, **airāvata**, **karēṇu**, **karabha**, **vāraṇa**. The people who trained and looked after the elephants were members of the despised non-Aryan tribes. Yet quickly enough the elephant became accepted among the Aryans, as in the forest-covered tracts of the country, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The elephant carrying even half-a-dozen riders was a swift and sure means of transport, both in towns and villages; and kings and rich people as well as the middle class largely employed elephants for carrying both men and women and merchandise. In war, the Elephant became an important wing of the army—the Four Limbs (**caturaṅga**) of ancient Indian forces consisted of foot-soldiers, cavalry, chariots and war-elephants. Boats (**nāu-sādhana, nāu-vāṭa**) took the place of chariots later on in a country of rivers like Bengal. Indian elephants with their drivers were in demand in the western lands from the Achaemenian times onwards—in the Persian empire, in Greece (in the armies of the successors of Alexandar the Great and in that of Pyrrhus of Epirus), and in Carthage (in Hannibal's army in Italy).

Although, as mentioned before, the pig or swine as a domesticated animal from Indo-European times became abandoned from the household economy of the Aryans in

both Iran and India, it was fully retained among the Greeks and the Italians, and also among the Balts and Slavs as well as Celts and Teutons. Sheep and goats were important domestic animals among Aryans in India, and it was more goats in the plains than sheep which were common only in the Himalayan areas and the colder regions. Pigs were, however, quite important as a source of food among the Austrics, and that was perhaps a reason for their being abandoned by the Aryans in India, except for the wild boar which would be killed and eaten by the warrior classes as a *shikar* animal.

Palanquins and litters carried by men also were something very special to the Indian Aryans as well as to the Iranians to some extent, particularly for women and rich people. This means of locomotion seems not to have developed among the Balts and the Slavs, and the Teutons and the Celts, through the Romans in later times obtained it from the East, from Syria and Egypt.

In India, among the Aryans, there developed a great idea of personal cleanliness and ceremonial purity. Bathing as a hygienic habit (particularly during the warm season) was quite in vogue among the Indo-Europeans, as we can see from the common Indo-European words in the different languages. But in India, bathing became *de rigueur,* not only for summer, but also for winter, specially among the upper and priestly classes, whether in the cool or cold Himalayan regions or in the tropical areas. Indian Aryans both men and women preferred a bath in a flowing river or stream, or in a lake or tank, or by a well, and rich people would have a bath indoors, with perfumed water or warm water. This predilection for the bath we find from Vedic times in India. But India never developed anything like

the elaborate bathing establishments of Roman times, and there was nothing of the type of the Finnish *sauma* or steam-bath, which appears to have been common to the Finno-Ugrians and the Balts in the North-east of Europe. In place of the steam-bath, Indian Aryans took up the habit (from the earlier peoples evidently) of rubbing their body and head with oil before bath—it was sesame oil at first (the sesame is found in the Indus valley city remains), and then mustard oil, as well as coconut oil. Sandal oil as well as perfumed sesame and coconut oil were also in vogue. The custom of anointing the body with sandal paste, particularly during the hot weather, was another case of pre-Aryan social or cultural influence.

With regard to domestic furniture, we do not have much evidence from the Vedic texts, but we know of bedsteads as well as stools of wood, and wooden boards and mats rather than benches and chairs to sit upon. Food was taken either sitting on stools of wood or cane-work from small and separate raised tables, or by squatting on the ground from metal or wooden vessels or earthenware, or leaf plates and cups following the earlier pre-Aryan custom.

Barley appears to have been the earliest cereal to be cultivated by the Indo-Europeans, and among Vedic Aryans as among the Greeks barley was the grain used in making food-offerings to the Gods and the *Manes* of the Ancestors. Later on in Mesopotamia, Iran and India the Aryans obtained wheat and rice, and in India rice was the commonest staple grain, and it shared honours with the earlier barley as *the* Aryan grain. Wheat was evidently derived from Mesopotamia and became common enough in Iran, but it came to India much later, and it was probably due to Iranian influence that wheat was given a growing importance in

Indian alimentary economy, in the Panjab and North India. Milk and milk products had a great importance in Indo-European food, and the Sanskrit **dadhi** 'curds, thick sour milk' (gen. **dadhnas**) has its equivalent in the Baltic (Old Prussian) **dadan** 'milk' (cf. also Albanian **djathë** 'cheese'). Meat was a common article of food—mutton, beef and pork, and game, but not the dog as among the ancient Chinese.

Utensils in daily use were made of wood in ancient Aryan India, as much as this use of wood has been continued down to our times among the Baltic peoples, and also in certain areas within the Slav territory. Utensils of wood were religiously enjoined in the Aryan (Vedic) ritual of worship and sacrifice, as these evidently were in use among their Indo-European ancestors. Pottery was common, but bronze vessels (**kāṃsya**) though known were rare in Aryan India, as much as among the Balts. As it has been noted above, iron and copper were in use among the Aryans in India, as they were among the Balts of later times.

In one important matter in their social and cultural life among the Primitive Indo-Europeans was the institution of the Poet or Singer who would be singing to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument the old songs relating to the gods and heroes and also to the way of life among the people, in all mundane matters like tilling the earth, love and wedding, sports, war, death, the seasons and Nature, etc., affecting the life of man. These poet-singers were often looked upon as inspired beings, with almost supernatural powers of understanding and foretelling happenings to come; and they were supposed to know the Truth behind Life. Their songs and other compositions they would sing or chant to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument—which was the lyre or harp in very ancient

times, and in later times some kind of harp or lute with a wooden sound-board which was laid flat on the lap while playing. The Vedic *Rishis* or sages had this lyre or harp, like the similar instruments in the West among the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans and the Celts. This old shape of this **vīṇā**, or ancient Indian harp (so different from the elaborate **vīṇā** of medieval and modern times, with two gourds on two ends of the wooden frame acting as resonators), is found in the earliest sculpture of India. Both religious and secular songs were chanted in India while playing the **vīṇā**. But in later times, when heroic or epic tales were narrated in the courts by **Sūtas** or professional bards who were not Brahmans or seers, there could be just chanting, and no music. Homer and the later lyrists of Greece used the lyre. So, too, among the Celtic bards—the **Fili** or **Filid** of the ancient Irish, and among the 'shapers'—'the creators' or poets (= Greek **Poiētēs**)—**Scōp** in Old English and **Skāld** in Old Norse—among the Germans. The peoples of Eastern and Northern Europe—both the Indo-European Balts and Slavs and the Finno-Ugrian Finns and Esths—developed a common type of stringed instrument with a flat wooden sound-board. This type of what may be called an early form of the lute or psaltery is known as the **gusly** among the Russians and other Slavs, and as **kantele** among the Finns and **kannel** among the Esths, and the Balts know it as **kanklės** in Lithuanian and **kokle** in Latvian. So the tradition of the **vīṇā**-playing priest-sages of the Vedic Aryans and the **kanklės**-playing singers of the *dainas* (both men and women as in later times) among the Balts goes back to the Indo-European age as a cultural inheritance. (*See* Plates XIII and XIV at the end, for pictures of Baltic singer-sages with the **kanklės** or **kokle**.)

The points of agreement (with, of course, modifications in some cases, which are easily understandable) between the domestic scene in the Baltic lands—as representative of the Primitive Indo-European—and in Vedic India, are well worth a detailed comparison for elucidating the cultural *milieu* in this matter among the Primitive Indo-Europeans. Linguistic palaeontology has established clearly some points of agreement in social structure and social life among the various ancient Indo-European peoples, and the old conditions are largely carried on even in the present-day Baltic village life, as much as in Hindu life as derived from the Aryans.

In the matter of personal names, the Balts and the Aryans have both continued the Indo-European usage. It would appear that among the Primitive Indo-Europeans, there were single-word names, which could be the names of their gods and goddesses, or of some animal with which they associated some special quality or virtue (like the words for *Horse, Bear, Fox, Wolf, Otter, Bull, Deer*), or which could be some adjective indicating some physical or mental quality or some other association: e.g. Indo-Aryan **Arjunas** 'Bright, White', **Rāmas** 'Pleasing', **Kṛṣṇas** 'Black', **Hārītas** 'Green or Yellow' (= Old Iranian **Zārita**, Modern Persian **Zāl**), **Śukras** 'Red', **Bhīmas** 'Terrible'; Greek **Glaukos** 'Gleaming, Bright', **Ksanthos** 'Blond'; Old Irish **Find** 'Fair'; etc. But with the Primitive Indo-Europeans, a distinctive class of names were descriptive compounds, generally with two elements, either both of them nouns or the first element a particle, indicating some physical or moral quality or excellence. In this kind of nomenclature we certainly see a very highly cultured and intelligent mentality among the Indo-Europeans, which was quite uncommon among the peoples of the world. A number of such names were already in use among the Primitive

Indo-Europeans, and in some cases these names have been inherited in the different ancient Indo-European speeches. I give below a few personal names of this second type, names which are compounds, which are of Indo-European origin, taken at random from Sanskrit, Iranian, Greek and Germanic. Thus, I-E ***Wesu-menēs** = Sanskrit **Vasu-manās**, Old Iranian **Vahu-manō**, Greek ***Wehu-menēs** > **Eu-menēs** 'Good-mind'; I-E ***Segho-deiwos** = Sanskrit **Saha-dēvas**, Primitive Germanic ***Sigi-tīwaz**, Old Norse **Sigtýr** 'Strength-God, God in Strength'; I-E ***Klutó-weghos** = Sanskrit ***Śrutá-vahas** (not actually found), Primitive Germanic ***Xluðá-wegaz**, Modern German **Ludwig** 'Famous-chariot'; I-E ***Ghutó-wenos** = Sanskrit ***Huta-vanas** (not actually found), English **Godwin** 'Libation-Friend, Friend of God'; I-E ***Pulu-rewōs** = Vedic **Purū-ravās** 'Excessive Shouting or Renown', cf. Greek **Poluphēmos**; I-E ***Uru-wekyā** = Vedic ***Uru-vaśī** > **Urvaśī** 'Wide-desire, She of wide Desire, or She who is widely desired' (this in Greek would be ***Euru-wekia** > ***Eurekia**); so Sanskrit **Viśva-vārā** 'All-shielding' (cf. Greek **Hērē** = **Vārā** 'She who covers or protects'); Old Iranian **Suxrāspō** 'Red-Horse' = Modern Persian **Suhrāb**; Sanskrit **Bṛhad-aśvas** 'Big-Horse'; Sanskrit **Aśva-patis** 'Horse-lord'; I-E ***Peri-klewēs** 'All-round Glory' > Greek **Periklēs** (cf. Sanskrit **Uccaiś-śravās** 'High Glory'); Old Slav **Svyato-slavŭ** 'White or Bright Glory' = Sanskrit **Śvēta-śravās** < I-E ***Kwoito-klewēs**; so Sanskrit **Su-śravās** = Old Iranian **Husravō**, Modern Persian **Xusrau**; Sanskrit **Hṛṣī-kēśas** 'Upstanding-Hair', **Guḍā-kēśas** 'Curly-Hair' (there are other traditional interpretations for these two words); Sanskrit **Bharad-vājas** 'Bearing Wealth'; **Jamad-agnis** 'Walking Fire'; **Dēva-dattas** 'God-given' (from I-E ***Deiwo-dodtos**: cf. Greek **Theodotos** < I-E ***Dhweso-dotos**); **Yudhi-ṣṭhiras** 'Firm in Battle'; I-E ***Klewo-ghostis** 'Renowned Visitor or Guest' > Germanic (Old Norse) **Hlewa-gastiR**; Sanskrit **Su-kētus** 'Good-Knowledge', **Su-jātā** 'She who is well-born'; Aryan **Arta-tamas** or **Ṛta-tamas** 'Of the Highest Law'; I-E ***Akyá-kratus** or **-kartus** > Germanic **Agyá-Xarduz** > High German **Ekkehard** 'Sharp and Strong, Strong in Sharpness or in Edge or Corner'; I-E ***Seghe-prītus** > Germanic ***Sigifriðuz**, High German **Siegfried** 'Strength Lover'; I-E ***Seghe-wordhos** > Germanic ***Sigi-wardaz** > Old Norse **Sigurðr** 'Strength-increase'; I-E ***Wḷqo-worgos** 'A Wolf in his deeds' > Greek **Lukourgos** (Latinized as **Lycurgus**) = Sanskrit ***Vṛka-vargas** (not found); I-E ***Lekso-nr-os** > ***a-leks-an(d)ros** > Greek **Aleksandros** 'Saving Men' = Sanskrit ***Rakṣā-naras**, cf. Sanskrit **Śikṣā-naras**; etc.

The study of Indo-European name-types and their survival in the ancient Indo-European languages is a most fascinating branch of the Linguistics of Indo-Europeans with valuable side-light into Primitive Indo-European social, religious and philosophical set-up; and this branch has received a good deal of attention from specialist scholars.

There is quite a large mass of personal and other names of Indo-European origin in ancient Sanskrit and Iranian and in Greek, and to a lesser extent in Germanic and Celtic. Old Slav is much poorer in this respect, and Baltic is almost equally poor. Not many old names, other than those of the gods and goddesses, have been preserved in the Baltic languages—at least, not in the literature of the **Dainas**. The authentic records of Baltic does not go beyond a thousand years from now, and among the Balts in the heroic period of their fight with the Germans a number of Old Balt names in Lithuanian, Latvian and Old Prussian have been preserved, names which have been mentioned before in narrating the

history of the struggle with the Germans (pp. 39 ff.). These names are almost all special for the Baltic form of Indo-European, and the Old Indo-European tradition or type of descriptive names which are compounds with two elements has been fully preserved, and it was quite a living tradition in the Indo-European background of the Balts. Some of these typical names may be considered in their form and meaning, to show how closely these names have the Primitive Indo-European onomastic atmosphere about them. (Through the kindness of Professor Ričardas Mironas of Vilnius, I have been able to find the etymology as well as the meaning of some available Old Balt names, in Lithuanian as well as in Latvian.) Thus: Lithuanian **Mindaugas**, from **minia** = 'crowd, people' +**daug-as** 'strong, manly': 'Strong among the People'; **Vaiš-vilkas** = Sanskrit ***Vaiśya-vṛkas** 'the Wolf among All, among the People' (**Vaiśya** or **Vaiśa** in the original sense of 'belonging to the **Viś** or the people'); **Daumantas** = **Daug-** 'strong'+**manta** 'having, possession, wealth': 'Strong in Wealth'; **Tridenis**: cf. Latvian **triada** 'song' + affix **-enis**: 'the Singer'; **Gediminas** (also **Gedminas**), from root **ged** 'to wish, to desire, to yearn' + **min-** (**minia**, as in **Mindaugas**) = 'a Desired Person or Beloved One'; **Algirdas**, from ***Alg-** 'salary, gift' + **girdas**, 'fame, rumour': 'Celebrated for his Gifts, or for his Acquisitions'; **Kęstutis**: root **kent** (which we find in **Daukantas** 'who has suffered much', **Viskanta** 'who has suffered all') whence ***kent-ta-s** > **Kęstas** + suffix of endearment **-utis** = **Kęstutis** 'the Suffering or Patient Little One'; **Birutė**, probably from a verb **birti** 'to fall, to turn, to flow': possibly it means 'She who makes words flow, who speaks much'; **Vytautas**, from verb **vyti** 'to chase, to follow' +**tauta-** 'People, Nation' = 'He who chases or pursues Peoples'; **Jogaila**, from root **jo** = Sanskrit root **yā** 'to go'; but in Balt (Lithuanian), **jo** = **yā** has developed the sense of 'moving on horseback', and **-gaila** is from a root which probably originally meant 'suffering, passion, pang of sorrow' (from Slav equivalents): the name would appear to mean 'One who has Passion for Riding'.

The Latvian name **Viršaitis** signifies 'the Chief of the tribe': in Lithuanian the meaning is 'the Chief of the District'. So **Talivaldis** = 'He whose rule has spread'—cf. Lithuanian **toli** 'far, distant' + ***valdyti** 'to reign or rule'.

We thus have in the surviving Balt names the same Indo-European tradition continued, and these names form quite a distinctive group within the Indo-European family.

XIII

A CONSPECTUS OF BALTIC RELIGION WITHIN THE ORBIT OF INDO-EUROPEAN RELIGION: MYTHS AND LEGENDS

In religion, to speak with reference to the Indian scene, the pre-Christian Baltic religion, as indicated by the folk-songs and poems among the Latvians and Lithuanians, can be described in a single phrase as a kind of 'Primitive Vedism', as it has been noted before. Before the organization of caste in India (and it is becoming clear that caste originated in India through various social and other usages which were growing up through the passing of centuries, and until recent, even post-British, times, caste was in a fluid state and did not have the rigidity it acquired during the last couple of centuries), there was no hard and fast division of the people into classes. There were, of course, as a general Indo-European social ordering, the chiefs and fighting men having the place of honour, and then there were the priests and wise men (sometimes these latter had precedence over the former), and finally there was the general mass of free members of the community whose occupation was stock-raising, agriculture, crafts and trade. They were always expected to take to the crafts and arts when necessary, as there were

not as yet something like the later 'Guild Castes'. Outside of this community of free Indo-European men and women, there were possibly a fourth class consisting of slaves who were war-captives to start with, who were relegated to manual work, and they were mostly from among the conquered peoples of non-Indo-European stock or purchased slaves belonging to other ethnic groups. The profession of the priest appears not to have been hereditary, and individuals were relegated to the respected position of priests and seers because of their knowledge of the current oral literature of songs and hymns and of the national lore in religion and magic, for their experience and wisdom and for their age.

We do not know of any elaborate kind of religious rites and ceremonies among the Balts, such as we have to saturation in certain types of post-Vedic literature in India. The fire ritual by raising an altar of stone or brick and kindling a fire on it, and offering to the gods, through the fire, 'burnt sacrifices' of meat and fat, butter, spirituous drink, roasted barley or barley-bread was well established among the Primitive Indo-Europeans in their undivided state, judging from words like ***ĝhutóm** ('libation offered to the fire') which we have, e.g. in both Aryan and Germanic (Sanskrit **hutas**, Gothic **guþs**, English **God** = 'the libation personified as a divinity'), and similarly I-E ***aidhos** 'twigs or wood for the fire ritual' = **ēdhas** (Sanskrit) and **ād** (Germanic, in Old English, = 'funeral pyre'). The points of agreement in the ritual through the fire which we have among the ancient Aryans, Greeks, Italian, Celts and Germans have to be considered. But it is not unlikely that here we have some cultural influence from the ancient Semitic world of the Middle East. But one thing is clear that the place where the religious services were held to honour the gods and to

pray to them for help or succour used to be a wood or forest grove, and huge big trees like the oak formed particularly the outstanding objects in a forest sanctuary. There were, of course, hutments made round about, but the ceremony was out of doors in the open. The fire-ritual appears not to have been the most ancient Indo-European custom. But the sanctity of the forest with its big trees was something which continued as a tradition among all the ancient Indo-European peoples. In ancient India it was not so much the temple with images of the gods as the hermitage in the midst of the forest away from the dwellings of men, which was the abode of the sages and seers to carry on their religious rites and specially to perform their devotions and their meditation and to ponder over the questions of existence. The Celtic priests, **Druids**, performed their ritual of worship in oak-forests; and one of the oldest and most respected shrines in Greece was the Sanctuary of Zeus in the oak-groves of Dodona in North-western Greece. In a similar way, Baltic religion may be said to have its place of worship in a grove of big forest trees.

The nature of Primitive Indo-European religion can be established to a large extent by linguistic palaeontology. In this matter, almost as much as the Vedic hymns, the Lithuanian and Latvian folk-poetry of the *Dainas* is a great help. Antoine Meillet, on the basis of the words used for sacred and religious objects, in the ancient Indo-European languages, had attempted to give us a concept of the Godhead among the Primitive Indo-Europeans. It would appear that there was a general faith among the Indo-Europeans in a God—a sort of a Supreme Deity—among whose concerns was the welfare of man. This Divinity was connected with the Sky, either being the Sky itself or living in Heaven above.

He was generally conceived as a sky-dwelling deity, and he was bright and full of light, he was above this earth, he used to give food and happiness and joy to man (***bhogos**, Sanskrit **bhagas**, Iranian **baga**, Slav **bogŭ**); and he had also the fate or destruction of man in his hand (***dhwesos**, Greek **theos**). The various forces of Nature were also conceived as divinities, but it would appear that a Supreme God was above all of them. In Primitive Indo-European, the commonest name of this Supreme God was a word which can be reconstructed as ***deiwos**, and this is the source of the Sanskrit **dēvas**, Lithuanian **dievas**, Latvian **dievs**, Latin **deus**, Germanic ***tīwaz**, and Old Irish **día**, meaning, generally, just 'God', or 'the Supreme God'. This original or basic aspect of the Primitive Indo-European ***Deiwos** is made quite clear from the Lithuanian and Latvian folk-poems.

Man, *vis-à-vis* God, was conceived among the Indo-Europeans as a being connected with the earth (Latin **homo**, Old English **guma**, Lithuanian **žmogus**) and he was a mortal being destined to die (Greek **brotos**, Avestan **martiya**, etc.); mortal, but a being who could think and use his mind (Sanskrit **manus**, **mānavas**, Germanic ***manwa** = **mann** from Indo-European root ***men**, **mon** = 'to think'), who also combined movement with power of speaking (Slav **člověkŭ** = from Indo-European ***q^{w}el** = 'to move' and ***weq** 'to speak'). Man was both a 'Fighter' (***nērs** = Sanskrit **nā** < ***nār-s**, Greek **a-nēr**, Umbrian **ner-f**) and a 'Producer' (***weros**, ***wīros** = Sanskrit **vīras**, Greek **hērōs**, Latin **vīr**, Old Irish **fer**, Germanic **wer**).

Woman, among the Indo-Europeans, was primarily the 'Child-bearer' (***g^{w}ēnis** = Sanskrit **jānis**, Greek **gunē**, Celtic Old Irish **ben**, Gothic **qēns**, Slav **žen-**), but she was also 'the Mistress of the Home' (Greek **potnia**, Sanskrit **patnī**);

and there were many words in the different Indo-European languages signifying the biological and social functions of the woman, as well as her grace and beauty (which was something the imaginative and aesthetically advanced Indo-Europeans began to admire and love from early time); and these words were generalized as words for woman ('She who feeds her child'—Latin **femina**; 'the Soft-limbed One'—Latin **mulier**; 'the Shining or Beautiful One'—Sanskrit **bhāminī**; 'She in whom we are pleased' and 'in whom we take our joy'—Sanskrit **rāmā, ramaṇī**; 'She who receives the seed'—Sanskrit **strī**; and probably also 'She who weaves'—Germanic, as in German **Weib**, English **wife**; etc.).

The Primitive Indo-Europeans had thus quite an advanced and a thoughtful conception of god as well as of both man and woman.

In Primitive Indo-European a regular pantheon with gods of a nett and precise character appears not to have been fully established. Gods and goddesses, as in later Vedic and Puranic mythology, in ancient Greek mythology, in Germanic mythology, and in Celtic mythology, each with his or her well-established and distinctive personality (although this personality would melt away in a general vagueness or comprehensiveness) and each with his or her exclusively individual functions, do not seem to have become fully established among Primitive Indo-Europeans. There were some common names for the divinities which are found throughout the greater part of the Indo-European world, like, e.g. ***Dyeus** or 'the Sky, or Sky-God' (which was generally called 'the Sky-Father', Indo-European ***Dyeus Pətērs**, Sanskrit **Dyauṣ Pitar**, Greek **Zeus Patēr**, etc.); ***Pḷthwiyā Mātērs** or 'Mother Earth', ***Wṇtos** (***Wēyus**) or 'the Wind', ***Suwelios** or 'the Sun', ***Ognis** or 'the Fire', ***Mēns** or 'the Moon', ***Ausrā** or ***Ausōs**, i.e. 'Dawn', ***Pergunos** (***Perkunos**?) or 'the Thunder-bearing God (who was connected in India with the Rains)'—these were some of the common deities for Indo-European peoples. The Sun was conceived of both as a male deity and as a goddess. We have in Sanskrit a feminine **Sūryā** besides **Sūryas**, and in Germanic and Baltic the Sun is always feminine and the Moon masculine.

But the Balts have developed some conceptions of the Divinity which were peculiarly their own. Apart from the common Indo-European elements found everywhere, we have among the Balts the idea of the Sun-Goddess who was married to the Moon-God, and this Sun-Goddess was a daughter of the Supreme God. A common Baltic myth, as given in some of the *dainas* from both Lithuanian and Latvian, was that of the Moon-God marrying the Sun-Goddess, but the Moon-God proved unfaithful to his wife and took the Dawn-Goddess or the Morning Star as his beloved, abandoning the Sun-Goddess; at which Perkūnas, the God of Thunder, cut the Moon-God into pieces. The Sun-Goddess also had a number of daughters, who were also honoured as beneficent deities. But the most popular Divinities among the Balts were **Dievas** (Latvian **Dievs**) = Sanskrit **Dēvas**, a sort of a Supreme God, *the* God, or God *par excellence*, conceived as a benign old man dwelling in the sky and coming down to the earth to do good to man; and **Laima** or the Goddess of Destiny and Happiness and Well-being in Life. She is conceived as a young and lovely woman in the old Baltic dress who is a beneficent deity with a most lovable character; and Laima had both an individual appeal as well as a cosmic importance. The presence of Laima as a deity from the historic past of the Balts, now transformed into the plane

of ideas, is to be noticed even now in the artistic and poetic as well as the sentimental consciousness of the Balts of both Latvia and Lithuania. Artists have drawn her picture and carved her figure in stone and wood and metal; and to say the least, she and Perkūnas and Dievas as well as some other Baltic deities (like **Māŗa**, and **Ligo**, and **Tikla**, among the Latvians) still have a place in the hearts of all Balts—at least as much as the Greek gods and goddesses have in the hearts of the cultured persons of Western Europe with a knowledge of the classics. Laima is even now a most popular name for girls in both Latvia and Lithuania.

We can form some definite ideas about the ancient Baltic religion and religious concepts from what has survived in the *dainas* of both the Latvians and Lithuanians. Attempts have been made in this field of research by a number of Baltists and Indo-Europeanists. In 1929 the French scholar Michel Jonval brought out a most valuable book in French, giving a good selection of Latvian *dainas* in the original, with French translation opposite (*Les Chansons Mythologiques Lettones*, printed in Riga under the auspices of the Peasant Union and published from France). In this book there is quite an illuminating Preface on the earlier pre-Christian religion and mythology, and religious notions of the Latvian Balts are embedded in these four-line stanzas which have been culled from the corpus of the huge *Latvju Dainas* of Krišjānis Barons, mentioned above (*see* pp. 60 ff.). Jonval has made a selection of 1,219 *dainas* in his work, and these old Balt poems of a religious and mythological character have been arranged by him under the following heads:

(1) **Dievs** or God (120 stanzas), giving the character of the principal beneficent deity residing in the Sky and

having dealings with men on earth, as in the religious consciousness of both the Latvians and Lithuanians.

(2) The Heavenly Divinities (stanza numbers 121–463) in which the various Gods of Heaven, like the Heaven itself, the Sun-Goddess, the Moon-God, the daughters of the Sun, the sons of God and the daughters of the Sun-Goddess, the Morning Star or Dawn, and **Perkōns** the Thunder-God of Heaven—these have been celebrated.

(3) Next, we have poems numbering 464–741 relating to the Gods of the Earth—the Mother of the Wind, the Mother of the Sea, the Mother of the Forest and the various Mothers, and the Divinities relating to the blessings of the Earth, the Gods and the Heroes, and of Cattle and Swine as well as Bees. These *dainas* relate to the agricultural life and surroundings of the Balts. **Māŗa** was an important and a popular deity of the Earth Mother type who brought help and food.

(4) The fourth section deals with that great concept of the Virgin Goddess of Fate and Happiness and Social Well-being, the Goddess **Laima**, who is also equally honoured by the Lithuanians even at the present day; and she unquestionably is a Baltic counterpart of a protective Goddess, who partakes of the nature of the Great Mother Goddess of Mediterranean and Near-eastern religions in the South, but she is free from the atmosphere or inhibition of sex. This Laima section in Jonval's book takes up the whole series of poems numbering from 742 to 1,147.

(5) Finally, we have a section consisting of poems 1,148 to 1,219, and they deal with the Gods and Spirits of Death.

In this way we have, on the basis of the vast collection of Barons, an almost complete conspectus of the mythological and religious notions of the Balts, as much of it as has been

preserved in the literature which accumulated during the last 2,000 years.

This Latvian material has to be integrated and studied with its Lithuanian counterpart, to enable us to come to some conclusions about the common old Balt religion and mythology, cults and customs.

As in the case of the Latvians, the God-world of the ancient Lithuanians has to be deduced or reconstructed from the extant *dainas*. The work of the researchers in this subject (in the Baltic as well as West European languages) has been discussed and appraised by the Latvian scholar, Haralds Biezais, in his *Die Religionsquellen der baltischen Voelker und Die Ergebnisse der bisherigen Forschungen* (Uppsala, 1954). Biezais is the author of a number of valuable monographs on Latvian (and Baltic) religion, like *Die Hauptgöttinnen der alten Letten* (Uppsala, 1955), *Die Gottesgestalt der Lettischen Volksreligion* (Stockholm, 1961) and *Das heilige Ernteopfermahl der Letten* (Lund, 1964). Dr. Biezais, who is a Latvian settled in Sweden and is a Professor in Uppsala University, is a distinguished authority of Baltic antiquities and religion. An earlier work on Old Lithuanian life and antiquities is Victor Jungfer's *Alt-Litauen* (Berlin, 1926: Second Part, pp. 71–135 on Religion and Ritual). Other books to be mentioned are P. Schmidt (Šmits), *Die Mythologie der Letten* (pp. 192–214 in *Die Letten*, Riga, 1930) and his earlier work on the same subject in Latvian, Riga, 1926; K. Stranberg's *Lettische Mythologie* (Riga, 1934), and Wilhelm Mannhardt's *Latviešu-Prušu Mitoloģia* or *Letto-preussische Götterlehre* (Riga, 1936, pp. 674, with full study with reference to the sources of the Old Prussian form of the Baltic religion). Quite a mass of material in both Lithuanian and English is to be found in the *Tautosakos Darbai* (Lithuanian Folk-lore Studies, Vol. I, 1935; Vol. II, 1936; and Vol. III, 1937: Kaunas), under the editorship of J. Balys, but this is not a systematic work on Baltic religion.

A brief survey of Baltic (specially Lithuanian religion) will be found in two recent works, that by Professor Dr. Marija Gimbutas, *The Balts* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1963), and *the Green Linden, an Anthology of Lithuanian Folk-songs in English* (New York, 1964—mentioned above: *Foreword* by Robert Payne, and *Introduction* by Dr. Gimbutas, from which I have quoted heavily. Mention must also be made of her work in Lithuanian, *Senoji Lietiviu religija* (Old Lithuanian Religion), M. Gimbutiene Aidai, 1953.

The Primitive Indo-Europeans worshipped the different forces of Nature as Gods and Goddesses like the Sky, the Earth, the Sun, the Moon, the Dawn, Fire, Wind, Water, etc., and their worship with the original Indo-European names was current among all ancient Indo-European peoples. The Indo-European Gods had their abode in the Sky above, and the Sky itself was personified into a divinity, a sort of superior God who had some pre-eminence above the rest. In Sanskrit, Latin and Old Irish, the word ***Deiwos** became a common name for a god, but in Germanic and in Baltic there was specialization in meaning. Germanic ***Tiwaz** from ***Deiwos** became the god **Tīw** (as in Old English), and **Týr** (as in Old Scandinavian) who in Germanic mythology is just a God of War. In Baltic **Dievas-Dievs** became one of the most characteristic divinities of the Baltic pantheon, something of a Supreme God, benevolent and helpful, and not erratic or tyrannical, and also a Helper of Men. Some of the features of the various gods in the Indo-European world came to be attached to him. In Baltic conception, **Dievas** lives in his palace in the heavenly hill of **Dievas Zides**, and

he either rides a horse, or drives in his chariot of two horses, with golden trappings. He is depicted in the imagination of the Balts as a bearded old man of the type of a medieval Baltic king or of a Christian priest (with his upper lip shaven), and he descends and moves on earth very gently. He is attended by his twin sons, the **Dievo Sūneliai** (= Sanskrit **Dēvasya Sūnū**) who always ride on their divine horses and accompany Dievas's chariot. They are like the **Aśvins**, the two young horsemen deities of the Vedas, and they also agree with the two **Dioskouroi** of Greek mythology, the brothers of Helen of Troy. In the Lithuanian mythological *dainas*, as in those of Latvia, **Dievas** is always referred to with trust and love for his active kindness. There are modern Latvian pictures showing **Dievs** accompanied by **Laima** and by **Māŗa**, Goddess of Food and Sustenance with bread and jar of drink, meeting farming householders in their own home, and bringing them food and words of comfort and encouragement, like Christ visiting the poor householder and his family at dinner in Modern West European pietistic art.

The Sun is a goddess in Baltic mythology, and the Moon a male god. A famous Lithuanian *daina* gives the story of how the Moon-god married the Sun-goddess, but the Moon-god was fickle, he abandoned his wife the Sun and was wooing the goddess of the Morning Star. At this Perkūnas (Latvian Perkōns) felt angry, and cut down the Moon into pieces. The Sun herself is described as 'the beloved Sun, the Daughter of the Sky' (**miela Saulyte**, **Dievo dukryte**). The horse, always present by her, is her vehicle and symbol. The Sun-goddess had a number of daughters and they always are round about Dievas, and their Mother, the Sun; and they typefy the Sun in the Sky in her various forms. The

Baltic Sun-goddess, like the Dawn-goddess of India, Uṣas, always moves in her chariot.

The epithets and the descriptions of the Sun-goddess as in the Lithuanian *dainas* frequently remind one of the Vedic Dawn-goddess Uṣas. Laima is a goddess who is most closely associated with Dievas, and her importance as the Arbiter of Human Destiny and the Giver of Gifts to Man was very great. She was also the goddess of Fate, and she brought happiness to men and women. She would always accompany Dievas in his visits on earth to meet men and women. The memory of Laima is still preserved lovingly among the present-day Balts, and even today, as mentioned before, Laima is a favourite name for girls among both the Lithuanians and Latvians.

Perkūnas (Latvian **Perkōns**, Old Prussian **Perkonis**), the God of Thunder, was something like a Moral Judge. His name has been connected with the Vedic **Parjanya**, a God of Rain and Thunder, but there are difficulties in equating phonetically the two words. The name **Perkūnas** would appear to be connected with an Indo-European * **perkus**, found in Latin as **quercus** = 'oak', and the oak was the tree associated with Perkūnas: and Sanskrit cognate of Latin **quercus** from the Indo-European * **perkus** would be **parśu**, and this is found in Sanskrit, but its original sense is not clear, although it became connected with the common Sanskrit word for 'the axe'—**paraśu**, or **parśu** = Greek **pelekus**, this word being looked upon ultimately as an Indo-European loan word from the Semitic Babylonian **pilakku**. **Perkūnas** in his aspect as the Thunder can be equated with the Indian **Indra**, the Greek **Zeus**, the Latin **Juppiter**. The name **Perkūnas** (with probably the cult also) appears to have passed on to the Celts from the Balts in the

closing centuries of the first millennium B.C., for we find the name in that of the *Hercynian Forest* (from ***Herkuna**) in Central Europe when it was the home of the Celts (Indo-European **p** appears to have first changed to **h**, and then this **h** disappeared in later Celtic). Perkunas was the Hero God, the God of Strength and Vigour, the God who, like Indra, fought evil spirits and bad men.

Like the **Ṛbhus** in ancient India (= **Elves** in Germanic myth: Indo-European ***ḷbhu** = Sanskrit **ṛbhu**, Germanic *** alƀ-**), the Balts had a similar idea about heavenly artificers. In the Lithuanian *dainas* we have references to a Heavenly Smith, **Kalvaitis**, who wields a great hammer and makes the gold and silver ornaments of the gods and goddesses—their rings and crowns and belts and stirrups. He corresponds to the Greek **Hēphaistos**, the Indian **Tvaṣṭar** and the Germanic (Old English) **Wēland** (= **Völundr** in the Edda).

Among the various natural objects, apart from the Sun and the Moon and the Stars, Fire was also, as in the case of other Indo-European peoples, worshipped as a powerful divinity, and Fire was a goddess like the Sun. The cult of the Fire as among the Italians, the Greeks and the Indo-Iranians—particularly among the Aryans of India—was quite characteristic of the Balts also, judging from the Lithuanian *dainas*. The fire in the domestic hearth was never extinguished, as in the case of the more religious Aryans (the **gārhapatya** or household fire). There were also special sanctuaries, as mentioned in the Lithuanian *dainas* and as testified by the medieval Christian observers, on high hills and on river banks where fire was kept perpetually burning, tended by priests or priestesses appointed by the kings.

Certain animals and birds also had a place in Baltic religion, myth and ritual as well as in folk-belief. The

horse had a pre-eminent place. Other animals were the he-goat, the boar, and the stag, besides the swan. There was a snake cult also—that of the sacred and beneficent snake—as much as among the Hindus and the ancient Greeks. The harmless green snake—**Žaltys** in Lithuanian—was honoured by the Balts in their dwellings also, much as we have still honour and trust shown in many parts of India to the **vāstu-sarpa**, the semi-divine serpent attached to the home, apart from the widely spread and still current **Nāga** or Snake Cult, of mixed Aryan and pre-Aryan origin. Side by side with the harmless **Žaltys** which is treated with deference, there was (and is still) among the Lithuanians and other Balts the idea of the poisonous snake, the **Gyvati**, which is harmful to man. The snake, however, is connected with life—the root of **Gyvate** is the same as **gyv** = Skt. **jīv**, 'to live', just as the snake is connected with healing in ancient Greece.

I can do no better than close this brief section on Baltic Religion by quoting once again from Dr. Marija Gimbutas, in her very beautiful and convincing summary of the deeper and more human aspects of it (*The Balts*, London, 1963, p. 204):

> The Baltic religion has faithfully preserved the basic elements of ancient history, which relate it closely to the early recorded religions of the Indo-European peoples, particularly to that of the Indo-Iranians, as seen in the cult of the dead, the burial rituals, the cures of the sky and air deity, as well as the sun, snake, horse, water and fire cults; at the same time, it has remained true to the peasant's perception of the real world and to his rich natural environment, sustaining his profound veneration for the living land—forests, trees and flowers—and his intimate relationship with animals and birds. In speaking of the legacy of Baltic pre-history, we mean above all the ancient religion, which is incarnate in the cosmic and lyrical conception of the

world of present-day Lithuanians and Latvians, and is an unceasing inspiration to their poets, painters and musicians.

Generally in such brief surveys all the aspects of Baltic religion as well as rites and rituals cannot be treated. The Balts, however, did not develop any great cycle of heroic tales and legends, or any appreciable mass of mythical or romantic stories. In this matter, the Indian Aryans and their descendants are at the forefront, and in India we have mythological, heroic and romantic tales of highest beauty and most universal appeal, by the score. Great stories like that of Urvaśī and Purūravas (the theme of which—the love of an earthly hero and a divine heroine—is common enough, both among the Indo-Europeans and other peoples), of Nala and Damayantī, of Sāvitrī and Satyavān, and dozens of other ones, the vast heroic cycle of the **Mahābhārata**, the great story of Rāma and Sītā as in the **Rāmāyaṇa**, stories by the score in the Brahmanical **Purāṇas**, as well as in Buddhist and Jaina literature; the romantic poems in Old Tamil, and those in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages; all this presents a unique treasury of tales and legends for humanity. The Greeks come next in their output of such literature with a permanent aesthetic and human value. After that we have the Celts (in Old and Middle Irish, and in Middle Welsh) and then the Germanic peoples (in Old English, in Old Scandinavian, in Middle High German). The Balts and the Slavs have nothing much to compare with all the richness of the other Indo-European peoples. The few heroic and romantic legends of the pre-Christian Baltic world which have survived have also been collected and studied and are being used as items of national cultural heritage. We have, for example, the beautiful Lithuanian legend about **Eglė**, the earthly

maiden with whom the benevolent divine Serpent King fell in love, and she accepted this serpent in the form of a man as her husband and lived with him in the under-world most happily and had children by him. Her husband was later on killed treacherously by her brothers, and in grief the wife turned into the Fir Tree (= **eglė**, in both Lithuanian and Latvian) and her children into other trees. This story as well as some other legends among the Balts show a connexion with the very ancient cult of the serpent, mentioned above, which would appear to be Indo-European. We are reminded of the popular Kashmiri legend of **Nāg-rāy** and **Hīmāl**—of a Princess 'Jasmine-garland' (**Hīmāl** = Sanskrit **Yūthī-mālā**, Prakrit **Yūhīmāla**) marrying a snake-king (**Nāg-rāy** = Sanskrit **Nāga-rāja**): see *Folk-tales of Kashmir* by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1893, pp. 495–504. There are certain agreements between these stories of **Eglė** and **Hīmāl**, but the Indian story is much more elaborate—it was taken down from the narration by a Kashmiri Brahman, but it is a popular tale which has been treated in a narrative-cum-lyrical poem in Kashmiri by the Muslim poets Waliullah Mattu and Saifuddin Zarif late in the nineteenth century. This old Latvian story too has been poetically retold in verse by Salomeja Neris, and it was published with beautiful illustrations by Sig. Valiuviene (Vilnius, 1961). Then there is the Lithuanian story of **Jūrate** and **Kostytis**, and this is quite a romantic and tragic story showing the disastrous love between a sea-nymph and a Son of the Earth. Jūrate, a Sea-goddess or Mermaid fell in love with the handsome young Fisherman Kostytis who also returned her love, and they were united. But Perkūnas the God of Thunder became angry at this marriage, and he hurled his thunder and killed the unfortunate

lover. His mermaid wife is still mourning her earthly lover, and from the fragments of her amber palace in the bottom of the sea people get bits of amber washed by the waters of the sea. This story was noted, taken down and printed in 1845 by the Lithuanian antiquarian Ludovikas Jucevičius, and it has beeen reprinted in 1950 in his collected works (pp. 430 to 439), but the folk-lore or traditional basis or version of this story has not been found. It has also been put in a ballad in verse by a great Lithuanian poet, Maironis (1862–1932), and published in an artistic volume with fine illustrations by D. Tarabildiene from Kaunas (Kovno) in 1957 (and also again from Vilnius in 1966). The story of **Jūrate** and **Kostytis** has been celebrated in a beautiful group in stone erected at Palanga by the sculptor, N. Gaigalaite, in 1959. The beautiful romantic story of Egle has also been treated in painting and sculpture by the most renowned of Lithuanian artists, e.g. by the sculptors, F. Daukartas, 1957 and R. Antinis, 1960. So great is the popularity of these two little stories among the Lithuanians that they have both been treated in ballet, in drama and in film, and these draw large audiences.

The heroic legends and stories of the Lithuanian kings, who gave resistance to German aggression and with their brave people laid down their lives for the preservation of their country and their religion, also form a valuable heritage for the Balts of the present day. There is the story of the heroic king of Lithuania in the historical period, Gediminas (died 1341) which is also worth treatment in literature and art. Constantine R. Jurgela's book *The History of the Lithuanian Nation* forms a good repository of all the early heroic and patriotic achievements of Lithuania, and this work has been quoted from before (pp. 44 ff.).

The Lithuanians and Latvians had a heroic age from the eleventh century onwards, when they were resisting the attacks by the Germans and by the Poles. It became a question of preserving their very existence from the onslaughts of the most determined enemies of the Baltic peoples, the Germanic knights, who made the propagation of Christianity an excuse for their intention of enslaving the Baltic peoples and dispossessing them of their lands and goods. In this the Germans succeeded to a very large extent, and they practically destroyed the westernmost section of the Balts, namely the Prussians. Latvian writers of the present day have treated in a series of remarkably fine dramas and novels the story of this conflict between the Balts and the Germans. We have to mention particularly the National Poet of Latvia, one of the greatest of the Soviet Union and of the world, Jānis Rainis, who has devoted one of his finest dramas **Indulis un Arija**, to this theme. Among the Latvians, the reminiscences of early mythological tales are just a little lesser in extent than among the Lithuanians. But from old legends the Latvian poet, Andrejs Pumpurs (1841–1902), created a new National Epic of the Latvian people, the **Lačplēsis** or 'The Bear-Slayer or the Bear-Piercer'—the name can be Sanskritized as **Ṛkṣa-spṛś-**, **Ṛkṣan-dara**, or **Ṛkṣa-han-**. This was published in 1888, and formed a landmark in modern Baltic literature. In this poem, certain heroic and romantic legends as well as highly poetic allegories about a heroic character in Latvian mythology, the Bear-slaying Hero, have been woven with other ancient heroic legends into as fine a little National Epic poem (consisting of not more than 5,500 lines in different metres) as any. Representations of Lačplēsis as a national hero of myth have also been assayed by Latvian painters and

XIV

BALTIC HISTORY—MEDIEVAL AND MODERN: RECENT CULTURAL ADVANCEMENT IN ARTS AND LETTERS

The medieval and modern history of the Baltic peoples is a subject of very great and absorbing human interest. As has been referred to before, there was at first through Russian agency a good deal of a national awakening among the Latvians and Lithuanians, as against the exploitation by the German landlords and the Polish connexion which made the Balts quite second-class citizens in their own country, where they had built up a powerful empire on their own. The abolition of serfdom by the Tsar of Russia in 1861 sped the Baltic peoples on the way to freedom, which came to them after the First World War in 1921. The Lithuanians and Latvians and the Esthonians got back their country, and were hoping to live a free and self-centred life. The Lithuanians particularly were dreaming of reviving the glories of their extensive empire, which they had built up in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, spreading from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and including Ukraina and a considerable part of Russia up to and beyond the towns of Tula and Kharkov. The Latvians were freed from the oppressions of their German masters. Then there were 20

years of internal reconstruction. But the socialistic and communistic ideas from the Great Soviet Union next door and the existence of Russia so close to the Baltic States naturally brought in an unrest in the country, against the vestiges of landlordism and class privilege which were still there. This is recent history, and, of course, the full story can only be appraised when all present-day partisanship for or against certain ideals will have no meaning in the future and will cease. But the Soviet set-up has been found congenial to, and helpful for, the maintenance of the interests of the masses in the three States bordering on the Baltic Sea, and the Soviet Socialist States of Latvia and Lithuania (as well as Esthonia) now are maintaining their separate existence within the orbit of the great Soviet Union under the lead of Moscow. There is a general progress in the country. Education, social integration, agriculture, industry and commerce are flourishing, and the arts and literature are having a revival, and in all the wakes of life a new development is noticed such as never existed before in the Baltic lands. We have mentioned the huge masses of folk-poetry which have been accumulated both in Lithuanian and Latvian. Literature along modern lines is also progressing. Universities with Science and Technology as well as Humanities are also flourishing as in any other civilized State.

As one of the peoples mentally most advanced and disciplined, with an attitude of peace and goodwill for all as well as an intense love of their mother-tongue, their country and their culture, the Balts have successfully brought about a golden mean between the ideologies of International Communism under the lead and protection of Moscow and their Baltic Nationalism. Variety with a background of Unity is, of course, the great ideal, and this appears to be

operating quite conspicuously in the Soviet Union. The Baltic peoples are now seeking to maintain their national identity and individuality on the background of the universal humanity of Socialism and Communism which seek to embrace all peoples with their distinct languages and cultures.

In Literature and the Arts (as much as in Science and Technology), there is, consistently with the ideals of the Soviet Union with which the lot of the Balts has been cast, a steady advance noticeable in the Baltic lands. Among the most illustrious names in the present-day literatures of the Baltic peoples we have to mention the following:

(i) In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in Lithuanian: Julija Zynanticne (1845–1921); Sofija and Marija Ivanauskyte, two sisters, who depicted the life of the people in the villages; Vilius Storasta or Vydunas (b. 1868); Jurgis Baltrusaitis (1873–1944); Vincas Kreve Mickievičius (b. 1882); J. Linde Dibilas (1872–1934) and Jonas Biliunas (1879–1907); Balys Sruoga (b. 1896); Paustas Kirsa (b. 1891); Vincas Mykolaitis Putinas (b. 1893); Kazys Binkis (1893–1942); and among more recent writers, Kossu Aleksandravičius (b. 1904), Barnardas Vorazdzionis (1897), Juszas Grusas (1901), and present-day writers of the communist regime like Petras Cvirka (1909) and J. Marcinhevičius (b. 1901); and

(ii) In Latvian, the following modern writers are outstanding: Andrejs Pumpurs, the writer of the heroic and the romantic, of the mystic and the idealistic, and author of the modern national epic, the *Lačplēsis*, has been mentioned before; the realist Jānis Jansons (1871–1917) and Teodors Zeifferts (1865–1929); the novelist and short-story writers, like Edvards Veidenbaums (1867–1892), Zvargulu Edvards (1866) and Rudolfs Blaumanis (1861–1908). The most

outstanding of present-day Latvian writers were Jānis Rainis (Jānis Plieksan: 1865–1929), whose great work in seeking to revive the soul of the Latvians as a Baltic people and also as a living modern people through his allegorical and historical dramas and poems has been mentioned above. His wife, Aspazija (Elsa Rosenberga), was one of the most prominent woman writers of Latvia. We have to name also Kārlis Skalbe (b. 1879), Edvards Virza (b. 1883) and his wife Elza Sterste (b. 1885), Viktors Eglitis (b. 1877), Jēkabs Jansevkis (1865–1931), and quite a number of others, in both prose and poetry. Kārlis Egle (b. 1887) has made a large number of translations into Latvian from Rabindranath Tagore; and among outstanding living poets of Latvia, we have to mention specially Valdis Lukas, Jānis Sudrabkalnis, and the great poetess Mme. Mirdza Ķempe.

These last two great writers of Latvia, J. Sudrabkalnis and Mirdza Ķempe, have been recently (1967) declared to be each of them a 'National Poet of Latvia', a distinction which has so far been accorded by public opinion to only one other writer of Latvian previously, viz. Jānis Rainis.

To my mind, however, the development of the Fine Arts, particularly sculpture, in the States of Latvia and Lithuania, is something most noteworthy in their cultural and artistic revival. Among two small nations of some five million people in all, it is astonishing to find such a tremendous progress in the plastic arts. In Music, the present-day Balts have been adding to the achievements of their ancestors, in what they have done in their folk-music. Many nations which are much larger in number and have played a bigger part in international affairs, cultural or political, including India, are behind the Baltic lands in their artistic output, in sculpture particularly. Artists (specially sculptors) have

come forward whose creations have added lustre to the culture of the modern Baltic peoples. One may mention, for example, the great memorial to the martyrs of the village of Pirčipius, where in 1945 nearly 150 men, women and children were deliberately burnt to death by the Hitlerian Nazis. This immortal memorial, executed in 1960, the work of the great sculptor of Lithuania, Gedyminas Jokubinis, who has been given recognition by the Soviet Union, is in the form of the colossal figure of an old woman of the village, mourning over this grim tragedy—she is standing, a mute symbol of appeal to humanity against this demoniac cruelty, but her soul is undaunted, and with clenched fists she is typifying a spirit of defiance and of indomitable courage. There are other sculptors in both Latvia and Lithuania whose work is a most convincing evidence of the resurgent spirit of the Baltic Indo-Europeans of the twentieth century, as much as their progress, socially and economically, as Socialist States within the Soviet Union.

XV

THE BALTIC SPEECH AND SANSKRIT

Something has been said before (pp. 66, 67) about the areas occupied by the various Baltic tribes. The original Baltic speech took various local or tribal forms according to the location of these tribes within the orbit of the Baltic tract. In the Map (at the end of this book, forming Plate I) will be found a rough indication of these tribes as they were in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In subsequent centuries, the Baltic area has been very much curtailed, particularly in the West and South, through the Germanization and Polonization of the Prussian and the Suduvian tribes of the Balts. Baltic and Aryan are both within the **Satem** Group of Indo-European, and their interrelation, already indicated, in the broadest outlines (p. 5), may be given in some greater detail as below, and in pp. 140-141:

Primitive Indo-Hittite (? Proto-Indo-European)

Hittite — Indo-European

The ancient Hittite speech is no longer living. Under the hypothetical Indo-European, which has been sought to be reconstructed with the help of Linguistics, we have two main groups—(1) Western (**Centum**) and (2) Eastern (**Satem**).

The Western or **Centum** has the following sub-groups:

(1) Hellenic: Mycenian, Ancient or Classical, Byzantine or Medieval, and Romaic or Modern Greek.

(2) Italic: Latin, etc., and from Latin, the Modern Romanic Languages—Italian, French, Provençal and Catalan, Castilian, Galician, Portuguese, Rumansch, Rumanian. The other Italic dialects, sister-speeches of Latin, e.g. Umbrian and Oscan (Sabellian, etc.) are extinct.

(3) Celtic: Ancient Gallic, Welsh, the extinct Cornish, Breton; Old Irish, Irish, Gaelic and the extinct Manx.

(4) Germanic: Gothic, Scandinavian (Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic); Frisian, English, Dutch, Platt-Deutsch; High German.

(5) Tokharic (Old Kuchean, and Karasharian, Kucha and Agni, two dialects): now extinct. Tokharic was current in Central Asia up to the eighth-ninth centuries A.D.

In the Eastern or **Satem** group, we have—

(1) Aryan or Indo-Iranian:

(*a*) Iranian: Avestan, Old Persian; Pahlavi; Kushana Speech; Sogdian; Scythic, Ossete; Modern Persian; Kurdish; Baloch; Pashtu; Ormuri; the Ghalcha languages of the Pamir.

(*b*) Dardic: Kashmiri, Shina, with dialects; Kafir dialects like Bashgali, Pashai, etc., and Khowar or Chitrali.

(*c*) Indo-Aryan or Sanskritic: Old Indo-Aryan—Vedic, Classical Sanskrit; Middle Indo-Aryan—the Prakrits, Pali, etc., Apabhramsa; and New or Modern Indo-Aryan

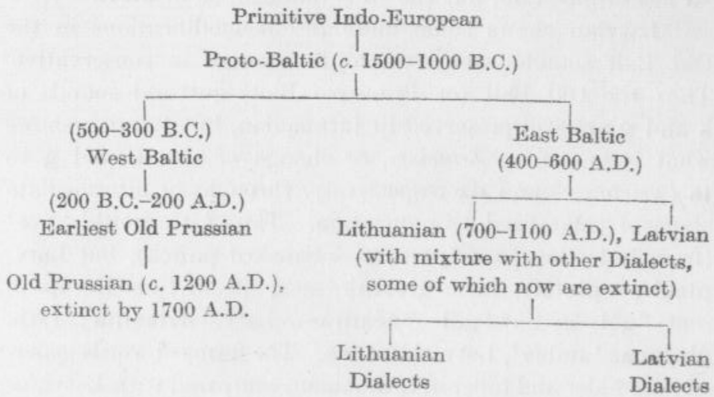
Speeches (Bhashas)—Hindki (Lahndi), Panjabi, Sindhi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Hindi, Kosali (Awadhi, etc.), Marathi and Konkani, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Maithil, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, and the Himalayan dialects.

(2) Armenian.

(3) Baltic: Lithuanian, Latvian and Old Prussian.

(4) Slavic: Russian (Veliko-russky or Great Russian, Byelorussky or White Russian, and Malorussky or Little Russian or Ukrainan); Polish; Czech and Slovak; Slovene; Yugo-slav or South Slav; Macedonian; Bulgarian.

It is believed that the Baltic branch in its linguistic characteristics took a definite form by the middle of the Second Millennium B.C. and the original Baltic dialect took shape as a distinct form of Indo-European to which the name 'Proto-Baltic' has been given. The interrelation among the dialects within Proto-Baltic may be roughly indicated as follows:



How some of the early medieval East Baltic dialects became merged with the two main groups, Lithuanian and Latvian, and how other Baltic dialects became extinct, are, of course, matters for detailed study under Baltic Linguistics and Dialectology. Although Latvian is a more 'advanced' speech and not so conservative as Lithuanian, and has in many cases become more simplified through loss of vowels in the interior as well as in final syllables, both of these speeches represent the Old Baltic sufficiently closely, and are in certain respects complementary to each other. One great archaic character in the Baltic languages of today is in the preservation of the final **-as** of the masculine noun ending in certain vowels (it was ***os** in Primitive Indo-European) in the masculine singular nominative. Thus Indo-European ***deiwos** became **dēvas** > **dēvaḥ** in Sanskrit (through Proto-Vedic ***daiwas**), and **deus** in Latin, but this ***-os** (> **-as**, **-aḥ** in Sanskrit, **-us** in Latin) is now lost in the entire Indo-European world, but Lithuanian still preserves it as in the form **dievas** (earlier ***dēwas**): in Latvian the **-a** has dropped off, but the **-s** is retained, as in **dievs**.

Latvian shows some more recent modifications in the Old Balt sound-system, where Lithuanian is conservative. Thus the Old Balt (or Primitive Balt) guttural sounds of **k** and **g** are still preserved in Lithuanian, but Latvian shows what is known as *Zetacism*, or change of this **k** and **g** to **ts** (written **c**) and **dz** respectively, through an intermediate stage of palatalized pronunciation. Thus Lith. **penki** 'five' (from Indo-European ***penq^{w}e** = Sanskrit **pañca**), but Latv. **pieci** (= **pietsi**); Lith. **giesmė** 'song' (from Indo-European root ***gēi**, in Skt. **gāi**—***gēṣma-**), Latv. **dziesma**; Lith. **gintaras** 'amber', Latv. **dzintars**. The forms of words generally are older and fuller in Lithuanian, compared with Latvian:

e.g. Lith. **šimtas**, Latv. **simts** or **simt** 'hundred'; a full or modified nasal sound derived from Primitive Baltic is still preserved in Lithuanian, but it has been just dropped in Latvian: e.g. Lith. **kanklės** 'psaltery, harp', Latv. **kokle**; Lith. **antras**, Latv. **otrs**, **otrais** 'second' (equating with English **other** from ***anþar-**); Lith. **šventiti**, Latv. **svētīt** 'to be holy'; etc.

It is generally stated that Lithuanian (with Latvian) resembles Sanskrit more than any other living language of the Indo-European family. This is to some extent an exaggeration, but it is nevertheless largely true when we consider the amount of common Indo-European roots, affixes and words which have been preserved in both Sanskrit (Vedic) and the Baltic languages. There are some very noteworthy points of agreement, but also it must be said at the same breath that there are points of disagreement also, which were the result of further independent developments in the Baltic languages, particularly with loss of earlier features, and there were also some similar new developments in Aryan. It is also to be noted that all the different branches of Indo-Europeans—beginning with Hittite which is sister to Primitive Indo-European—have similarly among themselves common as well as special points of agreement: e.g. Vedic and Greek, Vedic and Gothic, Vedic and Latin, Vedic and Old Irish; so Greek and Gothic, Greek and Slav, Greek and Baltic; Celtic and Baltic, Celtic and Slav, Celtic and Germanic, etc. Sometimes even sentences in Lithuanian and in Sanskrit have a startling agreement with each other—agreement of this type we find also between Sanskrit and the other ancient Indo-European languages like Greek, like Latin, like Gothic, like Old Irish, like Old Church Slav. (Reference may be made in this connexion to the most useful series of articles published some years ago by the late Dr. Bata Krishna Ghosh

of the University of Calcutta on *Sanskrit and Greek*, *Sanskrit and Latin*, *Sanskrit and Germanic*, etc., but this valuable series could not be completed owing to his untimely death.) Thus, to give one or two sentences from Sanskrit and Baltic:

Sanskrit **kataras tvam** (= **tu-am**) **asi** and Lithuanian **koteros ty esi** = 'which of these two (English **whether** = **katara**) art thou?'; **Dievas davė dantis, Dievas duos duonos** (Lithuanian) = **Dēvas adāt datas** (<* **dn̥t-as**), **Dēvas dāsyati dhānās** (Sanskrit) = **Deus dedit dentes, Deus dabit panem** (Latin) = 'God gave the teeth, God will give the bread' (from Marija Gimbutas, *The Balts*, London, 1963, p. 37).

A large-scale palatalized pronunciation of consonants before the front vowels is a point in which there is a noteworthy similarity between Baltic (Latvian specially) and Slavic, and this is not found in Sanskrit or other Indo-European languages of antiquity. The declinational systems of the Noun and the Pronoun as well as the Adjective in the Baltic Lithuanian and the Aryan Sanskrit have a remarkable similarity, and the old Indo-European structure is preserved in Baltic in spite of generalizations and levellings. In the Verb-system, however, there have been a good many modifications and innovations on either side. The Indo-European Verb-system has been very largely curtailed in Baltic as much as in Germanic, quite unlike Sanskrit and Greek which are much fuller and go nearest to the Primitive Indo-European in this matter. The old Tense-system, quite an extensive and a complicated one, as it was developing in Primitive Indo-European, has been drastically reduced in Baltic, and all that remained of the old Tenses was the Indicative Present and Future. In the Verb, a matter to be specially noted is the conservation of the same formative

affix in **-s-** for the future, e.g. Sanskrit **dāsyāmi** 'I shall give' = Lithuanian **duosiu**, Sanskrit **vartsyāmi** 'I shall turn' = Lithuanian **versiu**.

The Baltic languages, Lithuanian and Latvian, are both written and printed in the Roman alphabet, and the surviving specimens of Old Prussian are also in Roman. The German black letter (or 'Gothic') form of Roman was formerly in use, but at the present day the ordinary Roman or Latin script as employed for the West European languages is used for both Lithuanian and Latvian. There are a few dotted and capped letters for the special sounds of Baltic. The Sound-system of Baltic is fairly simple. Lithuanian consonants present no difficulty, only in Latvian there are some special palatalized sounds or letters. The Alphabets with their special letters for the two languages are as follows (the Vowel Sounds are as in Italian, unless specially indicated):

(1) Lithuanian—

a; **ā** (long); **b**; **c** (= **ts**, as in English *wits*); **č** (= *ch*, as in English *church*); **d**; **e**; **ę** (= **e** as in *end*, but formerly there was a nasal sound with this **ę**, which is now lost); **ė** (= long **ē**); **è** (= a diphthong, like **ie** or **ye**); **f**; **g** (always as in English *go, get*); **h**; **i**; **į** (= originally nasalized **ĩ**, now simple **i**); **y** (= long **ī**); **j** (= **y** as in English *yes*); **k**; **l**; **m**; **n**; **o**; **p**; **r**; **s**; **š** (like English *sh* in *shall, shoot*); **t**; **u** (as in English *put*); **ū** (long **u**); **ų** (formerly nasalized **ũ**, now nasalization is lost); **v**; **z**; **ž** (as in French *je* = English *s* in *pleasure*). There are tones in the language, which are indicated by the signs (´ ` ˜) above vowels, and above **n** and **r** (**ñ**, **r̃**).

(2) LATVIAN—

a; **ā**; **b**; **c** (= **ts**); **č** (= English *ch*); **d**; **dz**; **dž** (= English *j* and *dg* as in *judge*); **e**; **ē**; **f**; **g**; **ģ** (= palatalized *g*, like *gy*); **h** (in foreign words only); **i**; **e**; **ie** (a diphthong); **k**; **ķ** (palatalized *k* = *ky*); **l**; **ļ** (palatalized, = *ly*); **m**; **n**; **ņ** (palatalized **ñ** = *ny*); **o** (= **uo**; but like Italian *o* in foreign words); **r**; **ŗ** (= palatalized *ry*); **s**; **š** (= English *sh* as in *shall*, *shoot*); **t**; **u**; **ū**; **v**; **z**; **ž** (as in French *je*, English *pleasure*).

The close agreement of Sanskrit with Lithuanian, which also demonstrates the conservative character of the Baltic speech, can be seen from a comparative statement of the declension of a common noun in Lithuanian as a Baltic speech with its equivalent in Sanskrit. (From Professor Ričardas Mironas's article in the Lithuanian Journal of the Vilna University, Historical-Philological Section, Vol. **4**, 1958, pp. 65–80.) (*See* Tables on pp. 147-148.)

Comparative Linguistics of Indo-European, with special reference to Baltic and Indo-Aryan, will disclose the very remarkable agreement between these two branches of Indo-European, as shown in the case of the basic Noun Declension above. All other categories of words in their phonology as well as morphology show similar agreements. The structures of the two languages, Baltic and Aryan, continue to be the same—the commonest roots, affixes and words are of the same origin and type, in spite of differences in outward phonetic appearance. Thus, in the Pronouns, for 'I', we have Lithuanian **as**, Latvian and Old Prussian **es**, and these are the same as Sanskrit **aham** = Avestan **azəm**, Old Persian **adam**: the Indo-European word for 'I' was ***egom** or ***eghom**: from the first form ***egom**, we have Greek **egō(n)**, Latin **ego**,

Declension of Sanskrit dēvaḥ = Lithuanian dievas 'God'

	Lithuanian	Sanskrit	Prim. Indo-European
Singular:			
Nom.	**diẽvas**	**dēvas (dēvaḥ)**	***deiwos**
Acc.	**diẽva (< *dievan)**	**devam**	***deiwom**
Ins.	**dievu**	***devā** (cf. **narā, vṛkā**)	***deiwō**
Dat.	**diẽvui** (< ***dievoui**)	**-dēvāya (*dēvāi +a)**	***deiwōi (*deiwo+ai)**
Abl.	**diẽvo**	**dēvāt**	***deiwōt, *deiwōd**
Geni.	—	**dēvasya**	***deiwosyo, *deiwo/eso**
Loc.	**dievè**	**dēvē**	***deiwo-ei**
Voc.	**diẽve**	**dēva**	***deiwe**
Dual:			
Nom.	**dievù**	**dēvā, dēvāu**	?
Plural:			
Nom. and Voc.	**dievaĩ**	**dēvās, dēvāsas**	***deiwōs**
Acc.	**dievùs**	**dēvān (< *dēvāns)**	***deiwons**
Ins.	**dievaĩs**	**dēvāis**	***deiwōis, *deiwoibhis**
Dat. and Abl.	**dieváms**	**dēvēbhyas**	***deiwoibhyes, *deiwomis**
Geni.	**dievų** (< ***deiwuon**)	**dēvānām, *dēvām**	***deiwōm**
Loc.	**dievussu (dievuose)**	**dēvēṣu**	***deiwoisu**

Declension of Lithuanian ašva = Sanskrit aśvā 'mare'

	Lithuanian	Sanskrit	Prim. Indo-European
Singular:			
Nom.	**ašva**	**aśvā**	***ekwā**
Acc.	**ašva (<*ašvām)**	**aśvām**	***ekwām**
Ins.	**ašva**	**aśvā** (Vedic)	***ekwā**
Dat.	**ašvai**	**aśvāyai**	***ekwai**
Abl. and Gen.	**ašvos**	**aśvāyās**	***ekwās**
Loc.	**ašvoje (*ašvai+en)**	**aśvāyām**	***ekwāi**
Voc.	**ašva**	**ašvē**	***ekwai**
Dual:			
Nom., Voc. and Acc.	**ašvi**	**ašvē**	***ekwai**
Plural:			
Nom. and Voc.	**ašvos**	**ašvās**	***ekwās**
Acc.	**ašvas**	**aśvās (<*aśvāns)**	***ekwāms**
Inst.	**ašvonis**	**asvābhis**	?
Dat. and Abl.	**aśvams (<ašvomus)**	**aśvābhyas**	***ekwōbhyas, *ekwomis**
Gen.	**ašvu (<ašvun)**	**aśvānām (*aśvām)**	***ekwōm**
Loc.	**ašvosu**	**aśvāsu**	***ekwāsu**

Germanic ***ikam** whence Gothic **ik**, High German **Ich**, English **ic > I**; and from the second, which first became ***aźham**, we have Sanskrit **aham**, Avestan **azəm**, Armenian **es** (from ***ets**), Old Slav **azŭ**, and the Baltic forms; Lithuanian singular oblique base **man-** = Old Persian **manā**, Sanskrit **mama**; and similarly for the other pronominal forms, e.g. Lithuanian **pats** 'self', fem. **pati** = Sanskrit **patis**.

As said before, the Prim. I-E Verbal Conjugation has been very much simplified in Baltic, and all moods and tenses of Indo-European have been lost, excepting Indicative Present and Future. In Baltic, there has developed a new Preterit Tense form (replacing the Old Indo-European Aorist, which is known to ancient grammarians of Sanskrit as **luṅ**, the Imperfect = Sanskrit **laṅ**, and the Perfect = Sanskrit **liṭ**). This new Baltic Preterit, not found in Sanskrit and the rest, is made with addition of a stem vowel **a** or **e** (as e.g. in Lithuanian **vẽdė-me**, Latvian **vedēm** 'we led'; Lith. **sejo-me**, Latv. **sejām** 'we sowed', beside the Present forms Lith. **vẽda-me**, **sẽjame**, Latv. **veda-m**, **seja-m** 'we lead, we sow'.

On p. 150 are given the forms for the Substantive Verb in Lithuanian and Sanskrit, in the Present and Future Tenses only.

Agreements between Baltic and Aryan in their common vocabulary as derived equally from Primitive Indo-European are quite numerous, and they cover all the aspects of life as it was current three thousand years and more from now, both in Central, Northern and Western Russia, the original Baltic home, and in North-western India, the nidus of the Aryans in India.

In order to show the very close agreement between Aryan (Vedic) and the Baltic (Lithuanian), below are given—(1) some sentences in the Old Indo-Aryan speech, with

The Substantive Verb in Lithuanian and Sanskrit

Present Tense

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Lithuanian :	**esu** (earlier form, **esmi**)	**esawa**	**esame**
	esi	**esata**	×
	yra (earlier form **esti** ? a different root ?)	×	**yra, esti**
Sanskrit :	**asmi**	**svas (svaḥ)**	**smas (smaḥ)**
	asi	**sthas (sthaḥ)**	**stha**
	asti	**stas (staḥ)**	**santi**

Future Tense

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Lithuanian :	**bū́siu**	**busiwa**	**busime**
	bū́si	**busita**	**busite (bus)**
	bus	×	×
Sanskrit :	**bhaviṣyāmi**	**bhaviṣyāvaḥ**	**bhaviṣyāmaḥ**
	bhaviṣyasi	**bhaviṣyathaḥ**	**bhaviṣyatha**
	bhaviṣyati	**bhaviṣyataḥ**	**bhaviṣyanti**

(2) their restoration in Primitive Indo-European, followed by (3) a Baltic (Lithuanian) rendering (with Primitive Baltic equivalents where available), and in the end are added (4) Linguistic Notes. (I have to acknowledge gratefully that I am indebted for the Lithuanian versions and for the philological or linguistic notes to Dr. Rasma Grisle of the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of Soviet Latvia, Lecturer in Linguistics and Sanskrit in the University of Riga in Latvia. I could also revise this section with the help of Professor Dr. Antanas Klīmas, Department of Languages and Linguistics, University of Rochester, N.Y., U.S.A., and Dr. Mrs. Tamara Buch of Warsaw, Poland, whom I could consult at the 10th International Congress of Linguists in Bucharest, Rumania, in August-September 1967.)

I. (1) **mātar, tava (*tvīnaḥ) sūnuḥ tṛṣyati, asmāi udnam (udram) bhara.**

(2) ***māter, tewo (twīnos) sūnus tṛs-ye-ti, esmōi udnom (udrom) bhere.**

(3) **motin/moter/, tavo sūnus trokšta, jam vandenį nešk** [Prim. Baltic: ***mate(r), tavas sunus traksista, jamui udnim nešei**].

(4) The Lithuanian word **motė** (gen. sing. **moters**) now means a 'wife, a married woman'; but in dialectical Lithuanian, the old sense of 'mother' is still preserved. In Latvian, **mate, mote** = 'mother'; in Old Prussian, **muti**, 'mother', **po-matre** = 'step-mother'.

***tewo** = Lith. **tavo, tavas**; Latv. **tavs**; Old Pruss. **twais.**

***sūnus** = Lith. **sūnus,** Old Pruss. **souns.**

***tṛṣ-ye-ti** = Lith. **trokšti** 'to have thirst',

present tense **trokštu** < ***tros-sk-stu** : not found in Latvian or Old Prussian.

***esmōi** = Lith. **jis** (< ***is**, dative **jam**, ***jamui**), Latv. dialectal **jis**; lacking in Old Pruss.

***udnom** : Lith. **vanduo** (gen. sing. **vandens**), dialectal **unduo** 'water' = Latv. **udens**, Old Pruss. **unds**, **wundan**.

bhere** : √bher**, 'to bear, to carry', found in Lith. as **bernas** 'young man, child', literally 'one carried'; Latv. **berns** 'child'; not in Old Pruss.

II. (1) **Saha-dēvasya bhrātā Śruta-vahaḥ** (or **Huta-vanaḥ**) **aśvasya upari sasāda, *druvām madhye gacchan (*gaman) pañca vṛkān sasāca.**

(2) ***Segho-deiwosyo bhrātērs Kluto-weghos (Ghuto-wenos) ekwosyo uperi sesode, druwōm medhyoi g^{w}mskonts (g^{w}omonts) penq^{w}e wḷq^{w}ons sesoq^{w}e.**

(3) ...**dievo brolis (Garsia-)vazis ant ašvienio atsisėdo, medžių tarpe jodamas penkis vilkus sekė.**

[Prim. Baltic: . . . **bralijas** . . . **ašvas (ašvan, ašvai) sede (sadio ?)/ . . . medie/je/eja . . . penki vilkuons seke (sekio).**]

(4) ***seghes**, Skt. **sahas**, not preserved in Baltic. ***deiwos** = Skt. **dēvaḥ**, Lith. **dievas**, Latv. **dievs**, Old Pruss. **deiwa** = 'god'; ***bhrātērs** = Lith. **brolis**, Latv. **bralis**, Old Pruss. **brati** (vocative); diminutive, Lith. **broterėlis**, Latv. **brateritis**.

Kluto-weghos** : √kleu** = Lith. **klausyti** 'to hear', **slove** 'honour'; Latv. **sludinat** 'to tell solemnly', **klausit** 'to hear'; Old Pruss. **klausiton** 'to hear and agree'. ***wegh** = 'to carry', cf. Lith. **vežimas** 'wagon', Latv. **vaz(u)ms**, *ibid.*, Old Pruss. **vessis** or **vezis** 'riding sledge'.

***Ghuto-wenos** : Lith. **žavėti** 'to yearn, to bewitch'; Latv. **zavet** = 'to act magic'; ***wenos**, ***wen**—not preserved in Baltic.

***uperi**, not in Baltic: Lith. **ant** = 'upon', cf. Skt. **antika.**

***sesode** : Lith. **sėsti** 'to sit down', **sėdėti** 'to sit', Latv. **sest**, **sedet** 'to sit', Old Pruss. **sidons** 'sitting'.

***druwōm** : Lith. **dreve** 'hollow of a tree-stem', **darva, derva**—'tinder wood to light fire, tree-resin', Latv. **dreve** 'tree'.

***medhyoi** = Lith. **medis**, **medžies** 'tree, wood (= that which is between houses)': so Latv. **mezs** = 'wood', Old Pruss. **median** 'wood'.

***g^{w}mskonts *g^{w}omonts** : Lith. **gimti** 'to be born', Latv. **dzimt**, **gimsenin** 'birth'.

***penq^{w}e** = Lith. **penki** 'five', Latv. **pieci**.

***wlq^{w}ons** = Lith. **vilkas**, acc. pl. **vilkus**; Latv. **vilks**, acc. pl. **vilkus**; Old Pruss. **wilkis**.

***sesoq^{w}e** : Lith. **sekti** 'to follow', Latv. **sekt.**

III. (1) **sā jāniḥ aktvā bubōdha (bōdhatē), ǵām dōǵdhi, ǵṛham mārṣṭi, *manwām adanāya māṃsam chinatti, pacati ca.**

(2) ***sā ǵ^{w}ēnis ṇqtwō bhebhoudhe (bheudh-e-tai), ǵ^{w}ōm (ǵ^{w}ōwṃ) dheuǵhti, ǵhordhom/ǵhṛ-dhom melǵ-ti (melǵ-e-ti), monwōm edonoi-e mēmsom skoid-e-ti (ski-ne-d-ti), peq^{w}eti q^{w}e.**

(3) **ta žmona pasitepusi budį, karvę** (Latv. **ǵovi**) **melžia, ǵardą šluoja, vyrų valǵymui (ėdimui) mėsą skaido ir kepa.**

[Prim. Baltic: . . . **ǵēna ankstis buda (budo), ǵuovin (ǵovin : ǵuovi/n/s) melžia,** (?) **ǵardai . . . edeinai meisan skaida, ira kepa (kepti)**.]

(4) ***sā** : Old Pruss. **sta (< *sa+*ta)** = 'she'.

***ǵ^{w}ēnis** : Old Pruss. **ǵenno, ǵenna** 'Woman'.

***ṇqtwō** : Lith. **anksti** 'early', **naktis** 'night' = Latv. **nakts** 'night', Old Pruss. **angstainai** = 'early morning', **naktin** (acc. sing.) = 'night'.

√***bheudh** : Lith. **budėti** 'to wake', Latv. **bust** 'to be awake', Old Pruss. **bude** 'to be awake'.

***ǵ^{w}ōm** : Latv. **ǵuove** 'cow'.

√***dheuǵh** : Lith. **dauǵ.** Latv. **daudz** : 'many'.

***ǵhordhom/*ǵhṛdhom** : Lith. **ǵardas** 'cattle-fold', **žardis** 'Rose garden': Latv. **zards** 'drying frame'; Old Pruss. **sardis = zardis** 'fence'.

√***melǵ** : Lith. **melžti** 'to milk' (< 'to rub').

***monwōm, *menu-** = 'man': no equivalent in Baltic now.

√***ed** : Lith. **esti** 'to eat' (pres. **edu**), **eda** 'food' = Latv. **est** (pres. **edu**), **eda**; Old Pruss. **ist (< *est)** 'to eat'.

***memsom** : Lith. dialectal **meisa,** Latv. **miesa**, Old Pruss. **mensa**.

√***skoid, skid** : Lith. **skiesti** (iterativo **skaidyti)** 'to make thin, to divide', Latv. **skiest** 'scatter, to cut'.

√***peq^{w}** : Lith. **kepti** 'bake, to roast' (?): Latv. **cept.**

***q^{w}e** : not found in Baltic now.

IV. (1) **śvā datā sū-karam bhinatti (bibhēda).**

(2) ***kwōns dṇtō sū-m (sū-qorom) bhi-ne-d-ti (bhebhoide).**

(3) **šuo dantimis (suvens-sivens) . . .**

[Prim. Balt: **švuo/ns dentais (zambais =** Skt. **jambha-) suvenan kandja**].

(4) ***kwons** : Lith. **suo (*svuo,** gen.-sing., **suns),** Latv. **suns,** Old Pruss. **sunis** 'dog'.

***dṇt.** Lith. **dantis** 'teeth', Old Pruss. **dancis.**

***sūm** : not found in Lith.: cf. Latv. **suvens, sivens** = 'piglet, small pig', Old Pruss. **swintian**.

√***bheid, bhid** : not preserved in Baltic.

V. (1) **sa yuvaśas vīras tasya rājñas priyām duhitaram svām vadhūm ā vahati (ǵṛhṇāti).**

(2) ***so yuwṇkos wīros tosyo (teso) reiǵ-nos**

(reiġ-eso, reiġ-oso) priyām dhuġ(h)əterṃ swām wedhūm ō weġh-e-ti (ġhṛbh-nō-ti).

(3) **tas jaunas vyras to valdovo** (Old Pruss. **rikijas) mielą duġterį (kaip) savo žmoną įveža (vedz ; ġerbia, ġriebis).**

[Prim. Balt: . . . **jaunas vīras (valdininkat) (meilan) dukterin savan (seivan) . . . veda (vedat).**]

(4) ***so :** cf. Old Pruss. **stas** 'he' (< ***sa**+***tas**).

***yuwṇkos :** Lith. **jaunas,** Latv. **jauns** 'young'.

***wīros :** Lith. **vyras,** Latv. **virs,** Old Pruss. **vijrs** 'man'.

***tosyo (teso) :** Lith. **tas,** Latv. **tas,** Old Pruss. **stas.**

***reiġ-no-s :** cf. Lith. **rėžti 'to tear',** Latv. **riezt** 'to tear up' (Old Pruss. **rikijan,** a loan-word from Germanic ?).

***priyām :** cf. Latv. **priska** 'joy, happiness'.

***dhuġ(h)əterṃ :** in Lith. **dukte (**acc. sing. **dukteri),** Old Pruss. **duckti** 'daughter'.

***swām :** Lith. **savo, savos** = 'own'; so Latv. **savs,** from ***savas,** Old Pruss. **swais.**

***ō :** preposition: not in Baltic.

√***weġh :** Lith. **vežti** (present **vežu**), **vežimas** 'wagon', Latv. **vezums** or **vezms** = 'wagon'.

√***ġhṛbh :** Lith. **ġrabstyti** 'seize, carry, gather together': **ġrebti** 'to rob'; Latv. **ġrebt** 'to excavate, to open up'.

VI. (1) **pṛcchata, kas asau kratus śardha-śātas, yasya śucis *dāham (= dinam, divasam) naktam ca hatyāsu baddhā (*bandhānā) asti.**

(2) ***pṛk-ske-te, q^{w}os eso-u qratwos kerdho-kātos, yosyo kuq^{w}is dhoġhom noqtom q^{w}e ġ^{w}hṇtyāsu bhṇdh-tā (bhendhōnā) esti.**

(3) **klausiate (prašote), kas tai (per) ġalybė širda-džiauġsme, kurios spindėjimas dieną ir naktį prie ġinču (ġinčuose) pririšta esti (bendrauja).**

[Prim. Balt. . . **prasai, kas** (**stiprus viras**), **ka . . . deinan nakti, apis** (**ap**) . . . **esti.**]

(4) ***pṛk-ske-te :** Lith. **piršti,** 'to make a proposal for marriage', Latv. **pirslis,** and **presit** 'to ask'.

***q^{w}os :** in all Baltic languages **kas, kas, kes.**

***eso-u :** not in Baltic.

***qratwos :** Latv. **kurtet** 'to grow up, to increase'.

***kerdho-kātos :** ***kerdho-** = Lith. **kerdžius, skerdžius** = 'herd'. Old Pruss. acc. sing. **kerdan** = 'time' (from 'increase in lines or rows').

kātos : Latv. **sist** 'to slay, to kill'.

***yosyo, *yo :** not preserved in Baltic.

***kuq^{w}is** = 'mind, thought' (= Old English **hyġe** from Prim. Germanic ***xuġis** = Sanskrit **śuci-**); not in present-day Baltic.

***dhoġhom** = Lith. **deġti** 'to burn', **daga** 'summer heat' (cf. Skt. **ni-dāgha-**); Latv. **deġt** 'to burn', Old Pruss. **daġis** 'summer'.

***noqtom :** Lith. **naktis,** Latv. **nakts,** Old Pruss. **naktin,** acc. sing.

***q^{w}e :** absent in Baltic.

***ġ^{w}hṇtyāsu :** Lith. **ġinčas** 'street', **ġinti** 'to drive', Latv. **dzit** 'to drive'.

√*bhendh: Lith. **bendras** 'sharer (= one linked up ?)'. **banda** = 'herd of cattle', Latv. **biedra** 'sharer'.

***esti**: Lith. **esti** 'is', Latv. **esmu** 'I am', Old Pruss. **est, ast** 'is'.

XVI

SPECIMENS OF BALTIC (LITHUANIAN AND LATVIAN), WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

Below I am giving some specimens of Baltic literature, (i) Old as well as (ii) Modern, with English Translations,—from (i) the Lithuanian and Latvian *dainas*, as well as from (ii) present-day poetry.

The first three are three *dainas* of a mythological character from Lithuanian (collection of L. Rėsa), and these are followed by two Modern Lithuanian poems. Then are given the *Lord's Prayer* in Lithuanian and Latvian. These are followed by sixteen stanzas from the collection of Latvian folk-poetry of a mythological type made by K. Barons (from M. Jonval's book, mentioned above at pp. 120-121). These are also very ancient in their subject-matter. Although they were compiled during the last century and the present one, they bear the stamp of very high antiquity, at least in their subject-matter.

Finally, there are given four passages and poems from Modern Latvian Poets.

I. **Lithuanian Daina** (L. Rėsa, No. 27)	*English Translation*
Mėnuo sauluže vedė,	The Moon leads home the Sun,
Pirmą pavasarėlį.	In the first of Spring.

Saulużė anksti kėlės,	The Sun rose early,
Mėnužis atsiskyrė.	The Moon left her.
Mėnuo viens vaikštinėjo,	The Moon alone wandered,
Aušrinę pamylėjo.	With the Dawn (Morning Star) he fell in love.
Perkūns, didžiai supykęs,	Perkūnas, very angry,
Jį kardu perdalijo.	With his sword he cut him (the Moon) to pieces.
—Ko Saulužės atsiskyrei ?	Why didst live the Sun?
Aušrinę pamylėjai ?	Didst fall in love with the Morning Star?
Viens nakti vaikstinėjai ?	Didst wander about alone in the night?
[Širdis pilna smutnybes.]	[His heart was full of sorrow.]

II. **Lithuanian Daina** (L. Rėsa, No. 62)	*English Translation*
Aušrinė svodbą kėlė,	When Morning Star was wedded,
Perkūns pro vartus įjojo,	Perkūnas rode through the door-way,
Ąžuolą žalią parmušė.	And the green oak he shattered.
Ažuolo kraujs varvėdams,	Then forth the oak's blood spurted,
Apšlakstė mano drabužius	Besprinkled my garments,
Apšlakstė vainikėlį.	Besprinkled (my) crownlet.
Saulės dukrytė verkiant	With streaming eyes, the Sun's Daughter

Surinko tris metelius	For three years was collecting
Pavytusius lapelius	The leaves, all seared and withered.
—O kur, mamyte mano,	O where, Mother mine,
Drabužius išmazgosiu,	Shall I wash my garments,
kur kraują išmazgosiu ?	Where the blood wash out?
—Dukryte, mano jaunoji,	My Daughter, my youthful one,
Eik pas tą ežeratį,	Swift haste unto the fountain,
Kur tek devynios upatės.	Where nine brooks are flowing.
—O kur, mamyte mano,	O where, Mother mine,
Drabužėlius džiovinsiu,	My garments shall I dry?
kur vėjy išdžiovinsiu ?	Where in the breeze dry them?
—Dukryte, tame daržaty,	Daughter, in the garden,
Kur aug devynios rožatės	Where nine roses are blooming.
—O kur, mamyte mano,	O where, Mother mine,
Drabužiais apsivilksiu,	My garments shall I put on,
Baltuosius išnešiosiu ?	In their whiteness, bright gleaming?
—Dukryte, toj dienelėj,	My Daughter, upon that day,
Kad spįs devynios saulelės.	When nine suns shall be shining.

III. **Lithuanian Daina** (L. Rėsa, No. 48)	*English Translation*
Po kleveliu šaltinatis,	Under a maple tree lies a fountain,

Čystas vandenatis	A clear mass of water,
[če Dievo Sūnelei]	[Whither God's Sons,]
Kur ateits Saulės Dukrytės	Where will come the Sun's Daughters,
[Ateis sokti Mėnesieno.]	[Will come to dance in the Moonlight.]
Anksti burną praustis	Early to wash my face.
[Su Dievo Duktelems].	[With God's own Daughter (= Sun)].
Prie klevėlio šaltinačio,	In the fountain, by the maple,
Ėjau burną praustis.	I my face was washing.
Man beprausiant baltą burną,	While I was bathing my white face,
Nuploviau žiedatį.	Lo, my ring I washed off.
O atėjo Dievo Sūneliai	Will the Sons of God come hither
Su šilkų tinklelials ?	With their nets all silken?
Ir žvejavo mano žiedatį	And wilt thou fish my ring (so tiny)
Iš vandens gilumos ?	From the water's depths?
Ir atjojo jauns bernytis	And came a Hero youthful,
Ant bėro žirgačio,	His brown horse riding—
O tas bėrasis žirgatis	O brown the colour of his charger,
Aukso patkavatėms.	And his shoes were golden.
Eikš šenai, mergyte,	Hither come, O Maiden,
Eikš šenai, jaunoji,	Hither come, O Youngling,
Kalbėsiva kalbatę,	Let us two be speaking with fair words,

Dūmosiva dūmatę,	Let us two counsel with fair counsels,
Kur srovė giliausia,	Where the stream is deepest,
Kur meilių meiliausia.	Where love is sweetest.
—Negaliu, bernyti—	Nay, I cannot, Young Man (Hero),
	Nay, I cannot, Youngling.
Barsis mano močiutė,	My Mother dear will chide me,
Barsis mano sengalvėlė—	
Ilgai nepareisiu.	If longer I tarry.
[Tai sakik, mergyte,	[Speak thus to her, Maiden,
Tai sakik jaunoji ;	Speak thus to her, Young One;
Ir atlėkė dvi gulbeli,	And there came two swans aflying,
Ir sudrumstė vandenėlį ;	And they troubled the water's depth;
Laukiau nusistojent	Till it cleared, I waited.
Ne tiesa, duktelė	It is not true, my Daughter,
Po žaliu kleveliu,	Under the green maple,
Tu kalbėjei su bernyču,	Thou wast talking with a Young Man,
Tu dumojei su jaunuoju	Thou wast exchanging with a Youth
Meilatės žodačus.]	Words of Love's sweet Speech.]

(The three Lithuanian Dainas given above have been taken from the facsimile reproduction of the first edition as published by Rėsa himself with German translation from Königsberg in 1825. This facsimile edition, with introductions and critical notes, also gives the 85 Dainas in a revised

orthography which has been followed here. [Some additional lines not given by Rėza from variant versions are given above within square brackets.])

IV. **A Modern Lithuanian Poem** by Vacys Reimeris (1958)	*English Translation* (From his **Prie Baltojo Tadžo**)
Sandalo Dūmas	**The Sandalwood Smoke**
Tyliai smilksta sandalo šakelė,	Silently smoulders a sandal branch,
Byra peleno kruopa puri.	Ashes are falling in friable groats.
Vėlei tolimą mėlyną kelią	The smoke in a quiet room
Raito dūmas tyliam kambary.	Designs (winds) again a long blue road (way).
Ir nors poškina speigas už lango,	And although frost cracks behind the window,
Nors beržai—apšerkšniję, nuogi,—	And although birches stand rimy and naked—
Dega tropikų saulė virš Gango,	There is the Sun of the tropics blazing above the Ganga,
Ir tu pats atminiais degi.	And even thou art ablaze with memories.
Oi, toli juosvos, draugiškos rankos,	Oh, far away are the dark, friendly hands,
Dovanojusios Dely kadais,	Which once donated thee at Delhi,
Šitą kveplanti dūmą, kurs rangos,	This perfumed smoke bending before thy eyes,

Prieš akis indų žemės vaizdais.	Like visions of Indian soil.
Kurs tau šnara Bengalios palmėm,	Rustling to thee like Bengal palm-trees,
Dveikia karštu Madraso šokiu,	Breathing with a hot Madras dance,
Kurs tau kužda slapčiom apie gelmę	Murmuring to thee in secret about the depth
Sakuntalos junodųjų akių.	Of Sakuntala's black eyes.
Ugnele iš patamsio sužiurę,	The smoke glanced as a little flame from the dark,
Jis dar kalba tykus mėlynai,	And still talks gently in blue,
Aple ugnį prie gintaro jūros,	About the sacred fire which in olden times,
Vaidilučių kūrentą seniai.	The Vaidilutes (Lithuanian priestesses) used to inflame near the Amber Sea.
Sako, ji Lietuvon, kaip ir šioji,	They say—that fire, just as this one,
Atkeliavo nuo Indo krantų.	Arrived in Lithuania, from the banks of Ind.
Kas patikrins ?	Who can verify it ?
Senovė garsioji	Glorious Antiquity
Šlandien tyli. O aš terandu	Is mute today. And all I can find
Tik legendų išdilusias pėdas	Are the worn-out footprints of legends
Sutrūnijusių knygų smėly.	On the sands of decayed books.

Gal rytojaus mokslingas poetas	Perhaps a learned Poet of tomorrow
Tars, ką paslėpė amžiai žili.	Will tell us, what grey-haired ages have been hiding.
O štandieną—tu posmais jausmingais	And today thou must sing
Naują žemę dainuoti turi.	About the New Land, in strophes full of emotion.
Tolumon kelio mėlyno vingiais	The blue curves of the far-stretched road,
Gula dūmas tyliam kambary.	The smoke lies down in the quiet room.
Ir iš knygų byloja Sanskritas:	And Sanskrit from old books testifies:
Mes—seni, mes—jauni, artimi	We are old, we are young, and akin.
Kaip sandalo ugnis dega rytas,	The morning is blazing like a sandalwood fire,
Mūsų ryšių naujų viltimi.	Full of hope of our new mutual ties.

V. **Another poem** from Vacys Reimeris (1958)	*English Translation* (From the same book as above)
Sanskritas	**Sanskrit**
Delio gatvės kepykloj	It smelt of flat cakes
Papločiai kvepėjo.	In a street bake-house at Delhi.
Jų paviršiuje gelto skystimas saldus.	Sweet liquid was yellowing on their surfaces.
—Kuo vardu šitas sirupas?—	—How do you call this syrup?—

Klausiu kepėją,—	I asked the baker.
Jis, lyg dzūkas nuo Merkio,	And he, just like a Dzūkas (an inhabitant of S.-E. Lithuania) from Merkin (a Lithuanian township),
Atsako:	Replies:
—Medus.	—Medus (Honey).
Pakartojo:	He repeated:
—Medus . . .	—Medus . . .
Ir paduoda paplotį.	And stretched me a flat-cake.
Šypso perlais baltais indo veidas tamsus.	The dark Hindu face smiles with white pearls (of teeth).
Aš norėjau	I wanted
Leituviškai jam padėkoti	To thank him in Lithuanian
	And—from pure joy—
Ir iš džiaugsmo nupirkt,	To buy his flat-cakes,
Jo papičius,	All of them.
Visus.	

(Lithuanian **medus** = Sanskrit **madhu**. The Sanskrit word is understood all over India, in its original form of **madhu**; and in North India, its modifications **mahu, mau** and **madh** are commonly used, and in the Persianized Hindustani or Urdu, the Perso-Arabic loan-word **sahd** is also common.)

VI. **The Lord's Prayer,** in Modern Baltic.

Lithuanian	**Latvian**
Tėve mūsų, kurs esi danguje!	**mūsu Tēvs debesīs!**
teesie šventas tavo vardas.	**svētīts lai top tavs vārds.**
teateinie tavo karalystė.	**lai nāk tava valstība.**
teesie tavo valia,	**tavs prāts lai notiek,**

kaip danguje, taip ir ant žemės.	**kā debesīs, tā arī virs zemes.**
kasdienės mūsų duonos	**mūsu dienišķu maizi**
duok mums šiandien.	**dod mums šodien.**
Ir atleisk mums mūsų kaltes,	**Un piedod mums mūsu parādus,**
kaip ir mes atleidžiame	**kā arī mēs piedodam**
savo kaltininkams.	**saviem parādniekiem.**
Ir nevesk mus į pagundą,	**Un ne ieved mūs kārdināšanā,**
bet gelbėk mus nuo pikto. Amen.	**bet atpestī mūs no ļauna. Amen.**

VII. **Old Latvian Mythological Dainas** *as in Michel Jonval's Selection from K. Barons's Great Collection*

English Translation (Random selection from **Les Chansons Mythologiques Lettones**, Riga and Paris, 1929 : *see ante*, pp. 120-121)

(i) No. 88 (B. 30336)

Kam der kalni, kam der lejas,	Whom serve the hills, whom the valleys?
Kam der zaļi ozoliņi ?	Whom serve the green oaks ?
Dievam kalni, Laimei lejas,	God the hills serve, Laima the valleys,
Bitei zaļi ozoliņi.	And bees the green oaks serve.

(ii) No. 92 (B. 33765)

Dieviņ, tavu likumiņu,	God, this is thy decree,
Gaiša diena, gaiša nakts :	Bright is the day, bright the night:
Dienu gaiša Saule spīd,	The day, brightly shines Saule (the Sun),
Naktī gaiša Mēnesnīca.	The night, bright Mēnesis (the Moon).

(iii) No. 294 (B. 546)

Kur vasaru Saule lēca,	There where is Summer, Saule would rise,
Tur lec ziemu Mēnestiņš ;	There where it is Winter, Mēnesis rises;
Kur tās meitas pulkiem dzied,	There where the maidens sing in troops,
Tur tā puišu mīlestība.	It is there that the love of the young men is.

(iv) No. 301 (B. 33950), second variant

Pērkons sacirta Mēnestiņu	Pērkons cut to pieces Mēnesis
Ar aso zobentiņu ;	With the sharp sword;
Kam atņema Auseklam,	Because he (the Moon) had carried off Auseklis,
Saderētu līgaviņu.	His fiancée, his promised one.

(v) No. 352 (B. 33800)

Kam tie zirgi, kam tie rati,	To whom (belong) these horses, to whom the cars,
Pie Dieviņa nama durīm ?	In front of the door of the house of God ?
Dieva zirgi, Laimes rati,	The horses are God's, the cars are Laima's,
Saules meitas braucējiņas.	And the daughters of Saule are the riders.

(vi) No. 396 (B. 33974)

Saules meita mazgājās	The daughter of Saule bathed herself

Straujupītes līkumā:	At the bend of the stream:
Dieva dēls lūkojās	God's son looked at her
Zelta kārklu krūmiņā.	Within the thicket of golden osiers.

(vii) No. 754 (B. 9170)

Bēgu dienu, bēgu nakti,	I flee by day, I flee by night,
Laimes likta neizbēgu;	I cannot escape Laima's decree.
Kādu mūžu Laime lika,	As Laima has fixed my life,
Tāds bij man dzīvojot.	So I must live on.

(viii) No. 761 (B. 336)

Gauži dziedu, dziedādama,	I sing my song bitterly,
Gauži raudu, raudādama;	I weep bitter tears;
Man Laimiņa neatstāja	For Laima has not left me
Viena īsta bālēliņa.	A single true brother.

(ix) No. 791 (B. 11089)

Dod, Dieviņi, ko dodamis,	Give, God, what thou givest,
Dod man labas div' lietiņas:	Give me two good things:
Ceļā labū kumeliņu,	On the road, a good horse,
Mūžai labu līgaviņu.	In my life, a good wife.

(x) No. 796 (B. 27322)

Ai, Saulīt (e), tu bij' balta,	Oh, Saule, thou art white,
Dod man savu baltumiņu;	Give me thy whiteness;
Ai, Laimiņ(a), tu vesela,	Oh, Laima, thou art healthy,
Dod man savu veselību.	Give me thy health.

(xi) No. 899 (B. 1221)

Trīskārt Laima jostu joda,	Three times Laima placed the belt,
Apkārt manu auguminu;	Round about my height;
Auģi, diža, stāv' godā,	Grow up big, remain in honour,
Valkā zīļu vaiņadziņu.	Bear the crown of pearls.

(xii) No. 1019 (B. 9798)

Es nesīšu sausu malku,	I shall bring dry wood,
Es sakuršu uguntiņu;	I shall light the fire;
Dieviņam ziedus došu,	To God I shall give flowers,
Dievs dos manim arājiņu.	God will give me a good labourer (= a husband who will work).

(xiii) No. 1020 (B. 9487)

Dod, Dieviņ, ko dodams,	Give, God, what thou givest:
Dod man labu muža draugu,	Give me a good friend for life,
Lai es savus baltus vaigus	So that my white cheeks
Asarām nemazgāju	I do not wet with tears.

(xiv) No. 1062 (B. 17835)

Ej, Laimen, tu pa prišku,	Go, Laima, before,
Ka es išu tauteņôs;	When I shall come to my husband's home;
Ej pa prišku, trauc raseņu	Go before, strike the rose plants
Ar sudobra žagareņu,	With the stick of gold,
Ka(b) kòjeņis naispártum	So that I may not place my feet

Asreņu paļteitê	In the torrent of tears.

(xv) No. 1103 (B. 17770)

Dieviņ, tavu likumiņu,	God, what a law hast thou,
Dēkliņ, tavu kārumiņu:	Dēkla, what a decree of thine:
Jo mīlēju tautu dēlu,	Surely I shall be loving my betrothed,
Ne kā tēvu, māmulīti.	More than my father, my dear mother.

(xvi) No. 1104 (B. 22862)

Vai pa Dieva devumam,	Is that the gift of God,
Vai pa Laimes likumam,	Is that the decree of Laima—
Svešs ar svešu satikās,	The stranger will meet a strange woman,
Mīļu mūžu nodzīvoja.	And they will live a life of love?

VIII. **Lines from A. Pumpurs's Latvian Epic,** the **Lačplēsis** (1888)

Tad tautas dailīgās dziesmās	In the beautiful songs of the Nation
Tiksiet jūs slavēti visi,	You will be praised all,
Tu, Pērkon, Laimiņa, Tikla,	Perkonis, Laima, Tikla (Goddess of Chastity),
Un dievdēli, Saulītes meitas.	Sons of the Gods, Daughters of the Sun.
Šie vārdi, vareni dziesmās,	These names, mighty resounding in the songs,
Vēlāki modīnās tautu	Will in future times awaken (the Nation)

No jauna gaismota garā,	Again to the Light of the Spirit,
No jauna iet brīvibas karā!	Again in Liberty's War!

(Book I, lines 153–160)

IX. **A Poem from Jānis Rainis (1865–1929): Work and Joy** (cf. the Spirit of *Karma-yōga*, as propounded by Kṛishṇa Vāsudēva in the *Gītā*).

Darbs un Prieks.	*English Translation by Mme. Mirdza Ķempe*
Esi uzvarējis—priecājies:	If you have gained a victory—rejoice:
Brīvu ceļu lauzīs sev tavs darbs.	A free way will open for your work.
Esi pazaudējis—priecājies;	If you have lost—rejoice;
Krūtīs atkritis tev briedīs darbs.	In your bosom will fall back and ripen your work.
Ir viss pelēks apkārt—priecājies;	If everything is gray around you—rejoice;
Spoži sarkans sirdī degs tavs darbs.	With a red brilliance will glow your work.
Esi mīlu radis—priecājies:	If you meet love—rejoice:
Gaišak iesilsies un sildīs darbs.	A serene warmth will gain and give your work.
Esi naidu radis—priecājies:	If you meet hate—rejoice:
Ciešak sevi apzinās tavs darbs.	A stronger faith will have your work.

Ej ka iedams, būdams —priecājies:	Wherever you go, whoever you are—rejoice:
Vienā kustība tu pats tas darbs.	In an endless movement you yourself are this work.

X. **Jānis Rainis's the End and the Beginning** (cf. the One of the Upanishadic *Vēdānta*).

Latvian Text	*English Translation by Mme. Mirdza Ķempe*
Ļauns, sāpes, nāve, maiņa, pasaule	Evil, pain, death, change, the world—
Tik mutuļveidi tur, kur vāras visums,	Are only bubbles where the Universe is boiling,
Un viens tik ir, un bij, un būs, un paliek:	And only One is, was, and shall be, and shall remain:
Tā pati meklētāja dziņas-dvēsle	The Searching Soul
Un pati meklējamā aiz-saule—	And the Searched Beyond—
Tās abas lielās būtības ir viena:	These both great Entities are One:
Top dvēslē liela—apņemt aizsauli,	The Soul becomes great to embrace the Beyond.
Top aizssule ar dvēsli prasmē dzīva;	The Beyond gains life in the Soul through Wisdom (right action);
Un abām plūstot vienā būtībā,	And when both meet together in One Being,
Top laime, miers un ģals un jaunais sākums.	Then is attained Bliss, Peace, the End and a New Beginning.

XI. **Mme. Mirdza Ķempe's Poem 'The Indian Shawl'** (1967).

Indijas Lakats (From **Caisma Akmeni**)	**The Indian Shawl** (Dedicated to Srimati Indira Gandhi)
Kā zila bezģalība pāri pleciem plūst	A blue immensity across my shoulders flows—
Man, Indija, tavs lāsmojošais zīds.	O India, your silk in glistening showers;
Tā zelta raksts par liesmu puķēm kļūst,	Its golden ornament like flaming flowers glows,
No kurām ļēni raso rīts.	A dewy dawn pearls slowly from these magic flowers.
Kā rindas ģudrākās no Gitas skandot.	And to my mind this native pattern's lovely lines.
Ver daiļos tautas rakstus lakats, māte Bharata.	Recall the Gita's wisest verses —world-embracing, wide.
Vai varbūt mīlestība staro tā?	Or is it love that radiating shines?
Es pēkšņi tavus lielos dēlus jūtu blakām.	Your greatest sons, Bharata Mata, see I at my side.
—Ak, maizi Indijai!—	—Bread! Bread to India!—
—Vivekananda	—Vivekananda
Sauc cilvēcei, kā brūce kvēlodams,	Cries to the world—himself a burning wound—in passion:
Sķiet, Himalaji kūst! Un, ļaudis žēlodams,	The Himalayas seem to melt! And with compassion,
Tik vienkāršs, ģandrīz neizprotams, ceļas Gandijs,	Great in his simple nakedness, unfathomable rises Gandhi,

Lai vājiem lemācītu svešo varu lauzt,	Uniting peoples strength to break the foreign power's chains,
Un spēkus stiprākus par varmācību jaust.	And stirs a mightier force than violence would gain.
Tur Neru nāk—šīs drauga acis tīrās !	And Nehru comes—a friend with pure and thoughtful eyes !
Nav taisnība, ka viņš no dzīves šķīries ;	It is not true that he has died ;
Dēls visai cilvēcei—viņš visur dzīvot iet,	All mankind's sun—he breaks through enmity and gloom,
Sirds—uguns roze—zied un zied.	His heart—a glowing rose—will infinitely bloom.
Kad plaukstā atbalstu es galvu smago,	And when my ponderous head rests on my tired palm—
Ar dzejas soļiem vieglāk nekā sapņi	With footsteps light like poetry and dreams
Tik klusi pienāk bengālietis Tagors,	Tagore comes to give his wisdom's balm,
Un saudzīgs savā apskāvienā apņem.	From his embrace a tranquil comfort streams.
Kā zila bezgalība pāri pleciem plūst—	A blue immensity across my shoulders flows—
Man, Indija, tavs lāsmojošais zīds.	O India—your silk is glistening showers.
Tā zelta raksts par liesmu puķēm kļūst,	Its golden ornament like flaming flowers glows,
No kurām lēni raso rīts.	A dewy dawn pearls slowly from these magic flowers.

—Translated from Latvian by Mirdza Ķempe

XII. Poem by Mme. Mirdza Ķempe (1967)

(English Translation by Gladys Evans)

Divas Indietes
(Two Indian Women)

(From Gaisma Akmeni)

Radživs ieveda Sandili pirmo reizi viņu
pašu vienkāršajā mītne. Ilgi viņa bija
dzīvojusi vīvatēva dzimtā. Viņiem līdzi
Iespurdza viņu divu bērnu smiekli.

Radživs jautāja :
—Mana sieva, ko tu vēlētos šai dienā ?—

For the first time Rajiv led Sandili into the
simple dwelling that was now their own. How long she waited
in her father-in-law's household. Fluttering round them now
flew the laughter of their two small children.

Rajiv asked her :
'Dear, my wife, what wish of thine comes first upon this day ?'

Sandili atbildēja :
—Šī ir vislaimīgākā diena manā mužā.
Mēs esam veseli un jauni, mūsu bērni ir
veseli, mēs esam kopā. Varbūt atnāks
nelaime un vecyms. Šai dienā es vēlētos mirt.

Sandili answered so :
'I know it is the happiest day of all my life.
We're well and strong and young, our children too are
in good health ; and we're together. Possibly will come
misfortune and age. So on this day my only wish is death.'



Ancient Balt (Lithuanian) Girl and Matron
Coloured Plate No. 567 in *Lietuvių Liaudies Menas* (Lithuanian Folk Art), Vol. I, Vilnius, 1958.



Young Balt (Lithuanian) Warrior
From Coloured Plate No. 566 in *Lietuvių Liaudies Menas* (Lithuanian Folk Art), Vol. I, Vilnius, 1958.



BRONZE AGE INDO-EUROPEANS
(Second Millennium B.C.)

From J. A. Hammerton, *Universal History of the World,* Vol. II, Coloured Plate at p. 925.



ARYANS (SIXTH CENTURY B.C.): INDIANS BRINGING TRIBUTE, LED BY PERSIAN OFFICER
Achæmenian Frieze from Persepolis: the Indian Leader in long *Uttarīya* and *Śirōvēṣṭa*, Attendants (one with a Carrying Pole) in loin-cloth.



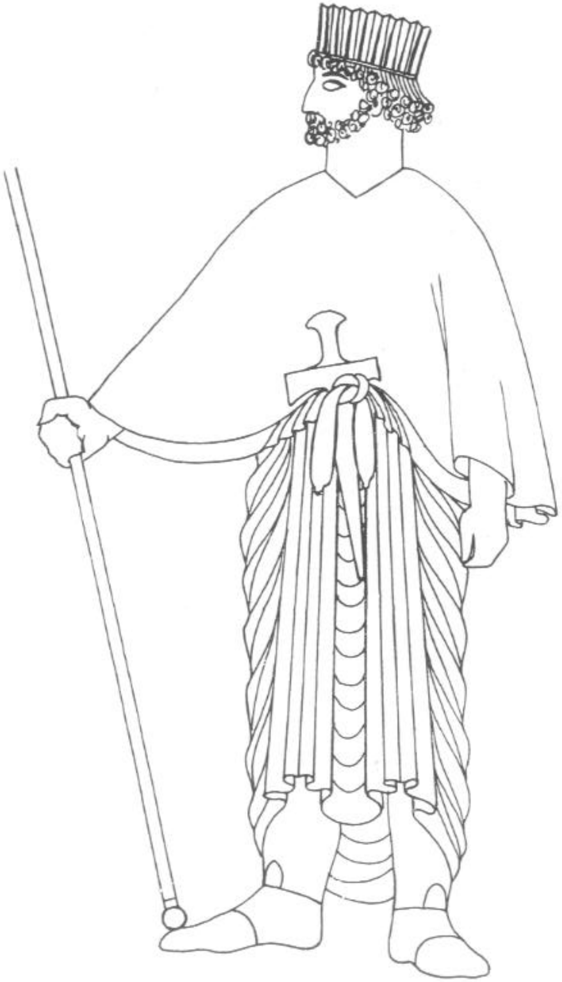
A MEDE (MADA), IRAN

From the Persian Work: *Pūšāk-i-Bāstānī-i-Irānīān*, 'Ancient Costumes of the Iranians', by Jalīl Ziā-Pūr, Tehran, Persian Year 1343, Plate 30.



A PERSIAN (PARSA), IRAN

From the Persian Work on the 'Ancient Costumes of the Iranians' by Jalīl Ziā-Pūr, Plate 49.



PERSIAN DRESS, SIXTH CENTURY B.C.
From : Pūšāk-i-Bāstānī-i-Īrānīān, Plate 45.



AN ARYAN (PERSIAN) LADY OF RANK, SIXTH CENTURY B.C.
From : Pūšāk-i-Bāstānī-i-Īrānīan, Coloured Plates 76 and 77.

Plate VIII



Indo-Aryan King and Poet-Sage
(Sudās and Vasiṣṭha in the *Ṛg-Veda*)
Drawings by Sculptor Sunil Pal, Calcutta.

Plate IX



Indo-Aryan Young Man and Woman
(Satyavān and Sāvitrī from the *Mahābhārata*)
Drawings by Sculptor Sunil Pal, Calcutta.



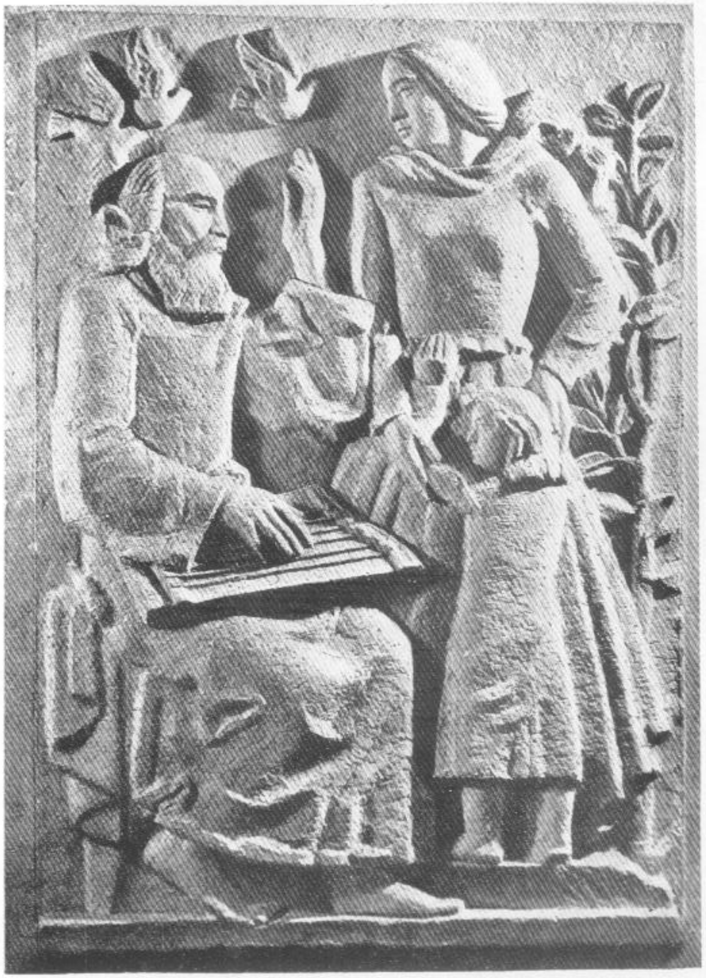
Ancient Balt (Lithuanian) Girl and Matron
Coloured Plate No. 567 in *Lietuvių Liaudies Menas* (Lithuanian Folk Art), Vol. I, Vilnius, 1958.



Young Balt (Lithuanian) Warrior
From Coloured Plate No. 566 in *Lietuvių Liaudies Menas* (Lithuanian Folk Art), Vol. I, Vilnius, 1958.



Ancient Balt (Latvian) Hero and Maiden
(Lačplēsis and Laimdota, from Andrejs Pumpurs's Epic)
Coloured Illustration by Latvian Artist Girts Vilks (1948).



Balt Sage-Priest Singing *Daina* and Playing *Kankles*
(Balt Harp or Zither): Mother and Child Listening
Relief in Plaster (1943), by the Lithuanian Sculptor Juozas Mikėnas.

PLATE XIV

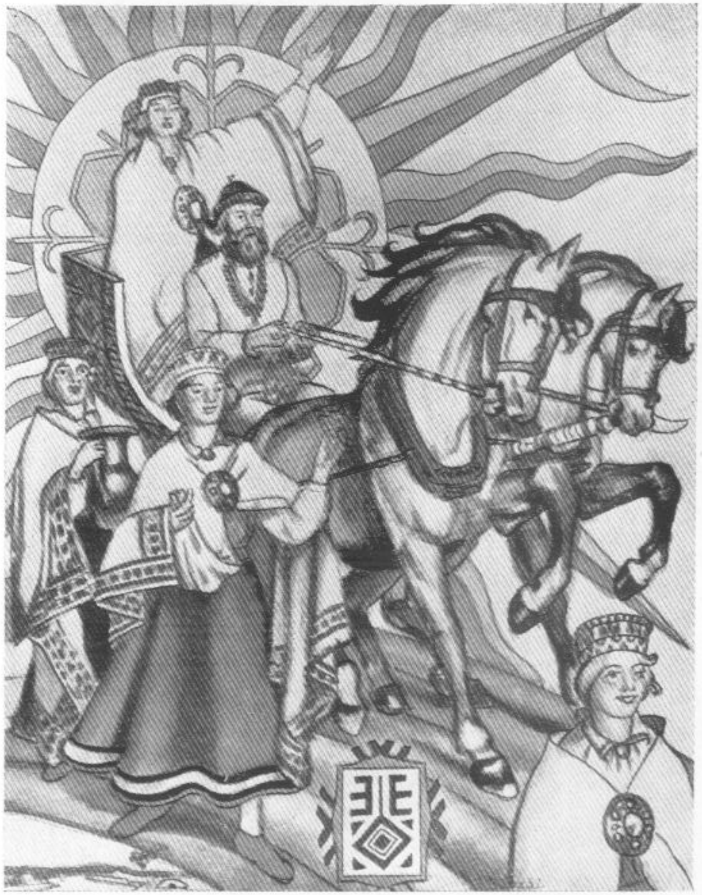


A BALT (LATVIAN) PANTHEON

Left to right: (1) Auskelis (Morning Star); (2) Dievs (God); (3) Laima; (4) Māŗa; (5) Mēness (Moon-God); (6) Saule (Sun-Goddess); (7) Saules Mieta (Sun's Daughter); (8) Perkōns. Below, *on left*, Mother and Son, and *on right*, Old Singer-Priest with *kokle* (psaltery).

From Coloured Painting by Latvian Artist Ansis Cīrulis.

PLATE XV



SUN-GODDESS SAULE IN HER CAR, WITH THE GOD ŪSIŅŠ AND HER DAUGHTERS IN ATTENDANCE

From Coloured Picture by the Latvian Artist Jēkabs Bīne.



Laima Spinning
Balt Maiden Goddess of Fate, Good Luck and Happiness
By the Latvian Sculptor Kārlis Zemdega (1936).



The King of the Žaltys (Grass-Snakes) and Eglė
Stained Glass Window at Druskininkai
By the Lithuanian Artist K. Morkūnas.



Latvija Māte (Latvīyā Mātā)

Mother Earth as the Mother-land of the Balts
with her Wounded Sons dying at her Feet
Heroic Stone Figure in the Brāļu Kapi Cemetery, Riga
By the Latvian Sculptor and Architect Kārlis Zāle (1888–1942).





Two Balt Heroes of Lithuania
Gediminas, King (1316–41), and Vytautas, Grand Duke (1386–1430)
Bronze Medals by the Lithuanian Sculptor Petras Rimša (1923 and 1930).

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI



BUST (IN BRONZE) BY
SUNIL KUMAR PAL
(April, 1967)

THE AUTHOR

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI was born on 26th November, 1890, in a Brahman family the ancestors of which according to old tradition came from Kanauj in North India and settled in West Bengal in the twelfth century. He had his school and college education in his native city of Calcutta, and he took his M.A. degree from the University of Calcutta in English language and literature in 1913. He studied as a Government of India Research Scholar for three years in London and Paris, under some of the great masters of Indo-European and Indo-Aryan as well as General Linguistics and Phonetics, and obtained his Doctorate in Literature from London University in 1921. He was connected with the University of Calcutta for 38 years as Professor of Linguistics and of various Indo-European languages. He was called to the U.S.A. as Visiting Professor in Indology in Philadelphia in 1951. Dr. Chatterji was returned to the Legislative Council (Senate) of West Bengal in 1952, and was unanimously elected its Chairman, which position he held till 1965, when he was made one of the National Professors of India by the Government of India.

Dr. Chatterji has several hundred papers on scientific (linguistic) and general subjects in English, Bengali and

Hindi, besides a number of books in these languages. His *magnum opus*, the *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, of near about 1,300 pages, came out in 1926. He made a number of valuable discoveries in his own subject of Indo-Aryan Linguistics. He has also some noteworthy papers on the culture of various peoples. As a *prosateur* in Bengali, he has his special place of honour.

Dr. Chatterji was given the Doctorate *honoris causa* by several universities, and he has been made Honorary Member of a number of scientific societies in Asia, Europe and America. Rabindranath Tagore, with whom he was closely connected from 1911 to his death in 1941, gave him the sobriquet *Bhăshăchărya* (Master of Speech) in inscribing one of his books to him. The Government of India awarded to him the high order of *Padma-vibhŭshaṇa* in 1963.

Dr. Chatterji lost his wife, Kamala Devi, his life's companion for over 50 years, in December 1964. He has one son, Suman Kumar, who is a Chemical Engineer, and five daughters, all of whom are happily married and established in life.

Travel (Dr. Chatterji has travelled extensively throughout the world) and study of Art, and collecting *Kleinekunst*, besides listening to Music, are his favourite hobbies.